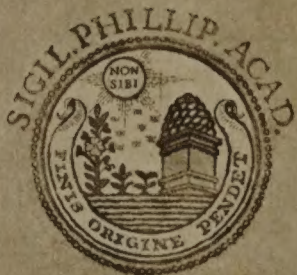


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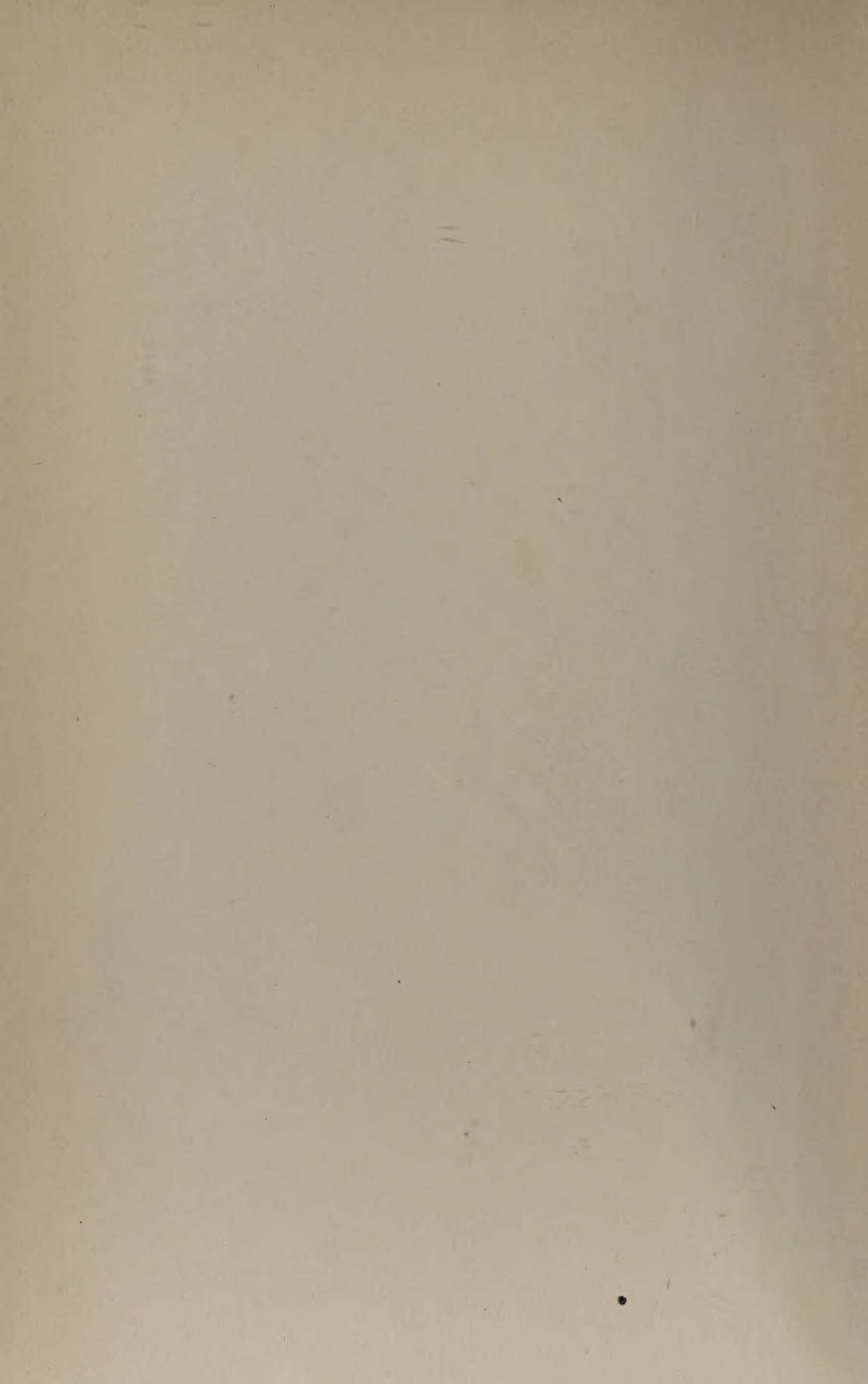
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CHARLES BURTON GULICK
CARL NEWELL JACKSON
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ΣΥΝΝΑΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ

By ARTHUR DARBY NOCK

DEDICATED TO GEORGE FOOT MOORE*

I

1. Julius Caesar. — 2. Demetrius Poliorcetes. — 3. Certain Ptolemies in native temples; all Ptolemies in temple of Alexander at Alexandria; relation of this to Pharaonic usage; analogous Kaisareion; private foundation for Berenice. — 4. Ariarathes and the Dionysiac guild. — 5. Attalus III at Pergamon; possible Imperial sequels. — 6. Antiochus I of Commagene. — 7. Roma and Augustus. — 8. Other Imperial combinations. — 9. The Emperors in Asia Minor. — 10. Table of results.

IN 45 B.C. Cicero wrote of Julius Caesar to Atticus: *eum σύνναον Quirini malo quam Salutis*.¹ It was then a recent sequel of the battle of Munda that an image (εἰκών) of Julius had been placed in the temple of Quirinus, inscribed "To the Invincible God." It was

* My thanks are due to Professor George Foot Moore for allowing me to associate this work with his name. A summary of the conclusions here reached was read to the Fifth Congress of the History of Religion at Lund and to the American Philological Association in 1929, and to the Cambridge Philological Society in May, 1930, and the paper owes not a little to the discussions which followed. I am deeply indebted to Dr. A. M. Blackman for his most helpful criticisms of a draft of Part I, paragraph 3, to Professor W. S. Ferguson for reading the proofs and for valuable suggestions, and to Professors Adcock, J. G. C. Anderson, Calder, and Rostovtzeff, and Mr. H. I. Bell, Mr. M. P. Charlesworth, Mr. S. R. K. Glanville, Dr. H. R. Hall, Dr. G. F. Hill, Mr. H. Mattingly, Mr. W. W. Tarn, and Miss J. Toynbee for friendly assistance. In citing inscriptions and papyri I have not as a rule indicated restored letters except where there is real uncertainty and the point affects the argument. An apology is required for the use of Ra rather than Rē' for convenience.

¹ *Ad Atticum*, XII, 45, 3. In XVI, 28, 3 he calls Julius *Quirini contubernalem*. In the text quoted above there is perhaps an allusion to the legend that Romulus was torn in pieces by the senators (How, *Select Letters of Cicero*, II, 383); cf. Plut., *Pomp.*, 25, 'Ρώμυλον ξηλῶν οὐ φεύξεται ταῦτόν ἐκείνω τέλος.

Toutain, *Culles païens dans l'Empire Romain*, I, 25, quotes the precedent of Scipio. In Livy 38, 16 we read that Scipio refused a popular desire to make him perpetual consul and dictator, to set statues of him in the comitium, on the rostra, in the Senate-house, on the Capitol, and in the cella of Jupiter, and to decree that his *imago* should proceed in triumphator's dress from the Capitol. Valerius Maxi-

at the same time provided that his statue (ἀνδριάς) should be carried with the images of the gods in processions at the races.¹ Earlier, in 46, his chariot had been set on the Capitol facing Jupiter: and he was represented with the universe under his feet and an inscription asserting that he was ἡμιθεός. The inscription was soon removed at his wish.² Later, in 44, it was decreed that his statue (ἀνδριάς) should be set in cities (presumably Italian cities) and in all the temples in Rome. Further, a temple was built for Caesar and Clementia, represented as greeting one another.²

mus gives practically the same record, IV, 1, 6. In VIII, 15, 1 he states that the *imago* was kept in the cella of Jupiter and thence produced for funerals in the gens Cornelia. This last statement, corroborated by Appian, *Iber.*, 23, was easily verifiable and may be genuine. But the story as a whole is almost certainly a fiction and probably, as Mommsen suggested, drawn from an anti-Caesarian pamphlet (*Römische Forschungen*, II, 502 ff.; cf. Ed. Meyer, *Caesars Monarchie*³, 531). How could a popular desire to make a man perpetual consul and dictator find formal expression in this period of strict senatorial control? The genesis of the story lies perhaps in the keeping of the *imago* in Jupiter's cella and in Scipio's well-known devotion to the Capitoline deities (cf. a coin of Cn. Blaesio struck *circa* 110 B.C. with *obv.* Scipio Africanus, *rev.* Jupiter Juno Minerva; *B. M. Cat. Coins Rom. Rep.*, II, 294, pl. xciv, 16).

We find significant demonstrations later but not in this official way. C. Marius on his return was hailed by the multitude as a third founder of Rome: in their joy each with his wife and children *at home* offered first fruits to the gods and to Marius of food and drink, ἅμα τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ Μαρίῳ δέλπνον καὶ λαβῆς ἀπὸρχοντο (Plut., *Mar.*, 27 d). This is a private observance, not much beyond the limits of drinking healths: cf. p. 51, *infra*. Of the popular M. Marius, Seneca says (*De ira*, III, 18), *cui uicatim populus statuas posuerat, cui ture ac uino supplicabat*. Of the honours paid to Q. Caecilius Metellus on his return from Spain, Sallust *ap.* Macrobi., *Sat.*, III, 18, 8 says: *tum uenienti ture quasi deo supplicabatur*.

¹ Dio Cassius, XLIII, 45, 2. For this there was apparently a precedent among the honours paid to Alexander. Hyperides, *Orat.*, I, col. 32, 5 (unfortunately mutilated) speaks of a proposal by Demosthenes στήσαι εἰκό[να Ἀλεξάνδ]ρου βασιλ[έως τοῦ] ἀνικῆτου θε[οῦ; where it should stand we do not know. Cf. H. Berve, *Gnomon*, V, 3762. The language does not suggest cultus, and Hyperides was hardly likely to understate the supposed iniquities of Demosthenes.

Later, says Dio, a chariot for Caesar had its place in the procession. In general, for Julius Caesar cf. H. Heinen's careful study, *Klio* XI.

² Dio Cass., XLIII, 14, 6; 21, 2; XLIV, 4, 4; 6, 4; Appian, *B. C.*, II, 106, § 443 (but on a coin, *B. M. C. R. R.*, I, 549, we have simply CLEMENTIAE CAESARIS).

That Julius was at this time following a deliberate policy of establishing divine kingship is possible but dubious; cf. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of*

For honours of this type there was an abundance of Hellenistic precedents, familiar to Romans of the governing class from a century and a half of contact with the nearer East. The choice, whether made by him or for him, was no doubt deliberate. The placing of his image in Quirinus's temple would imply that Julius was Rome's second founder: such a suggestion was often made by the courtiers of Augustus.¹ No doubt, this, like other exceptional honours, disappeared when his cult was established on a regular posthumous footing as that of Divus Julius.

We must now turn to the Hellenistic precedents and to the background against which they took shape.

Strictly speaking, we are concerned only with the putting of the cult image, ἄγαλμα, of a ruler in an existing temple or its inclusion in a new conjoint temple erected *ad hoc*. It will, however, be necessary to consider in passing certain examples of the putting of an εἰκών or image not destined to receive cultus. Such an image, though in practice meant to honour the ruler, was at the same time in theory intended as a votive offering to the divinity of the temple, and this intention was commonly stated in its inscription.²

the Roman Empire, 494. In view of his fatigue (cf. Suet., *Jul.*, 87) I suspect that we must allow not a little for *laissez-faire* in him: was Antony forcing the pace? (Cf. Warde Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity*, 117.) How much caution was required may be seen from the action of Augustus in causing statues of himself erected in Rome to be melted down and in turning them into ex-votos to Apollo from himself and the donors (*Res Gestae*, 24) and from his refusal to have an image in the Pantheon (his statue merely stood with that of Agrippa in the pronaos (Dio Cass., LIII, 27, 3)).

¹ K. Scott, *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.*, LVI, 32 ff.

² For the distinction of ἄγαλμα and εἰκών cf. H. Hepding, *Ath. Mitth.*, XXXII, 250-251; A. Engeli, *Die Oratio variata bei Pausanias* (1907), 8 ff. (for the use of Pausanias, as I, 40, 2: temple at Megara containing εἰκόνας of Roman Emperors and an ἄγαλμα of Artemis Soteira). For a loose use of εἰκόνας, for an ἄγαλμα and an εἰκών, cf. p. 22, and for an εἰκών in Ptolemaic Egypt receiving cultus, p. 9. Εἰκών has also the special sense of painting. Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Rev. Hist.*, CLXIII, 12. A good illustration of the distinction occurs in Suetonius, *Tiber.*, 26, 1, *prohibuit etiam statuas atque imagines nisi permittente se poni: permisitque ea sola condicione ne inter simulacra deorum sed inter ornamenta aedium ponerentur*. A few years after the death of Attalus III we find a Pergamene decree honouring Diodorus, a living benefactor with four εἰκόνας and one ἄγαλμα: the last is to be set in a new shrine with a temenos: they hallow the eighth day of the month of Apollonios, on which he

2. The data for the usage known to me are as follows. Demetrius Poliorcetes perhaps dwelt in Apollo's temple on Delos, and was certainly allowed by the Athenians to lodge in the Parthenon in 304-303 B.C., and was in a literal sense *σύνναος* in each case: further, his picture and that of Antigonos were woven into the *peplos* with those of Zeus and Athena. At the same time, the evidence does not suggest that he received homage as Athena's partner: he had his own independent cultus.¹ Nor is it hinted that there was any idea of a *ιερός γάμος* between Demetrius and the goddess, such as the Athenians are later said to have offered to Mark Antony, though the story of that offer and of Antony's exaction of a dower may very well be no more than a witty figment, like so many stories relating to ruler-worship, or part of the campaign of calumny in which he and Octavian engaged.²

3. The first definite sharing of temple-honours is that of Arsinoe II. We find her sharing the cult of Mendes in the Delta. "In the fifteenth year [of Ptolemy II] in the month Pachon on the day . . . was performed the dedication of the queen and her introduction into the temple:" details are given of anointing, of a four days' interval after which she came forth a hallowed soul, and of a festival to animate her holy soul: there were performed for her all those ceremonies which are performed for goddesses who receive life a second time: and her *Widderbild* (statue as a ram) was to be put in all temples: and a representation of her was to be set with the divine ram representations.³ Now another fragment of the same stele mentions her reaching heaven and uniting her limbs with Ra and tells of the ceremonial of mouth-

entered the city after his embassy (we hear nothing now of the Attalid sanctity of the eighth, which we should expect to find at Pergamon as much as at Elaea; cf. p. 22, *infra*), and elect for him a priest annually at the same time as the other priests of benefactors. This priest's name shall appear in contracts after that of the priest of M.' Aquilius, the Roman engaged in establishing the province of Asia (Hepding, *loc. cit.*, 243 ff.: the text reprinted in *Inscriptiones graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, IV, 292).

¹ Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 10, 12; K. Scott, *Am. Journ. Phil.*, XLIX, 217 ff. The Delian residence is an inference from Th. Homolle, *Les archives de l'intendance sacrée à Délos*, 67 (= I. G. XI, ii, 146.76; ὅτε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξέπλευσεν, τὸν κόπρον ἐξενέγκασιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ). The ἀρρηφόροι also dwelt with Athena (Pausanias, I, 27, 3)!

² Seneca, *Suasoriae*, I, 6: cf. p. 55, n. 1, *infra*.

³ H. Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XIII, 37, l. 11.

opening.¹ This must refer to her death, and R. Pfeiffer has very ably urged that a scholion on the *Arsinoe* of Callimachus, ἐν πασσελήν(ω) ἡρπασμένης, enables us to fix the date as July 9.² The natural conclusion is that this temple-sharing is entirely posthumous, though it was desired to suggest that she had been thought a goddess previously. We may probably regard as posthumous also her sharing of the temple of Neith in Sais (of which we learn in 266/5 B.C. that permission was given to put up an image of the princess, the heiress of both lands, Isis Arsinoe Philadelphos),³ and of the temple of Mut in Thebes (267/6), of Ptah at Memphis, and of Month at Hermonthis.⁴

Be this as it may, a dating by an eponymous priest of Alexander at Alexandria appears in the form ἐφ' ἱερέως Πατρόκλου τοῦ Πάτρωνος Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν on the twentieth of the month Daisios in Ptolemy's fifteenth year, 13 June, 271, according to Beloch.⁵ Now it follows from Edgar's careful investigation of the equating of Macedonian and Egyptian months that this was in that year earlier than Pachon,⁶ and it will be observed that the title is used in a matter-of-

¹ Von Bissing *ap.* H. von Prott, *Rhein. Mus.*, LIII, 464, with von Prott's remarks.

² *Kallimachosstudien*, 1 ff.

³ E. Revillout, *Revue égyptologique*, I, 186; A. Wiedemann, *Rhein. Mus.*, XXXVIII, 391 (I use his translation: Revillout says, "Le roi, notre maître, fait apparaître l'image"). W. Otto, I, 349, rightly remarks that in view of the order recorded in the Mendes stele this permission must refer to some special form of the cultus. In K. Sethe, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, I, 55, we have a record of a prince of Coptos setting up a statue of a king and a queen, possibly Arsinoe I, at Coptos, but there is no suggestion of cultus.

⁴ References in Otto, I, 349. A scribe of Ptah and of Arsinoe Philadelphos at Sakkara, Spiegelberg, *Demotische Inschriften*, 32, no. 31099, l. 3.

⁵ P. Hibeh, 99; G. Plaumann, *Pauly-Wissowa*, VIII, 1428. Plaumann emphasises (1431) the possibility that the incorporation may be earlier. R. Herzog, *Philologus*, LXXXII, 49 ff., makes the ingenious suggestion that θεοὶ Ἀδελφοί originally covered two pairs, both Ptolemy I and Berenice, and Ptolemy II and Arsinoe Philadelphos, using in support of it the coins showing on *obv.* the first pair with the legend ΘΕΩΝ, on *rev.* the second with ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ. This hardly does justice to the fact that the impression made by Arsinoe seems to be the decisive motive (cf. Tarn, *Journ. Egypt. Archaeol.*, XIV, 248). Cf. Otto, I, 143. I am not at all sure that her admission as σύνναος to all temples suggests that she already had a place in the Egyptian Pantheon (Otto, I, 348₂): it may be a sudden piece of impetuosity on the part of Ptolemy.

⁶ *Ann. serv. ant. Egypte*, XVII, 253. Beloch has a different date for Arsinoe's death, but on his calculation also it is later than P. Hibeh, 99. The matter is com-

fact way as being familiar and not as though it was just introduced. It may be, therefore, inferred that the incorporation, which is not earlier than Ptolemy's thirteenth year, in which we find the plain ἐφ' ἱερέως N.,¹ is prior to Arsinoe's death. This inclusion of the θεοὶ Ἀδελφοί is of course different from the special honours to Arsinoe,² as also from the Hellenistic cult of her in her own temple as Arsinoe or Arsinoe Aphrodite: this also may well be purely posthumous,³ like the institution of her *κανηφόρος* and the gift to her worship of the ἀπόμοιρα.⁴ Individual dedications of possibly earlier date are not relevant in this context.⁵

We later find the θεοὶ Ἀδελφοί and their successors incorporated in various temples, as, for instance, in that of Amenrasonthor at Thebes (182 B.C. and later),⁶ that of Isis at Philae (probably between 126 and

plicated by an apparent lag in the Egyptian reckoning of the regnal years of Philadelphos (Edgar, *Recueil Champollion*, 122).

¹ P. Hibeh, 110, 40, 44.

² At Philadelphia Arsinoe's temple and that of the Theoi Adelphoi were side by side (U. Wilcken, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, VIII, 280 from P. Zen., 59169). At Hermonthis we find as deities Month, Arsinoe, Theoi Adelphoi, and their successors down to the Philometores (Grenfell, *Greek Papyri*, I, p. 24); this suggests that Arsinoe was there incorporated in cultus earlier than the Theoi Adelphoi.

³ So R. Pfeiffer, *Kallimachosstudien*, 143; Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*², IV, ii, 586. Pfeiffer draws attention to the appearance of Arsinoe on gold and silver coins from 270 onwards.

⁴ Beloch, *loc. cit.*; W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Agypten*, I, 342 ff. Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1909, 630; Wilcken, *Chrest.*, I, 248 ad. n. 249; cf. Tarn, *loc. cit.*, 256, for a possible resultant benefit to Greek agriculture.

⁵ Such are possibly Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inscr. sel.*, 34, on Cyprus, Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου, where she is φ. not φ. θεά (cf. Wilcken, *Arch. f. Pap.*, III, 318 f.) and *ibid.* 724, ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου Σωτήρων Διονύσιος Ποτάμωτος, and 725 (an altar) βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου θεῶν Σωτήρων. The interpretation is dubious, but it was possible to use *σωτήρ* in an individual *ad hoc* way: cf. my "Early Gentile Christianity" (in A. E. J. Rawlinson, *Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation*), 93, and its nontechnical use of Ptolemy II, III, and IV in the text (not in the address) of petitions (P. Collomp, *Recherches sur la chancellerie et la diplomatique des Lagides*, 101; the Ptolemies are by then deified, but it remains an adjectival use).

⁶ Lepsius, *Abh. Preuss. Akad.*, 1852, 498 ff. The Soteres appear in no documents here or in the texts cited in the next notes. The Ptolemies are included in, if not identical with, τῶν συννάων θεῶν in P. Lond., 3 (Kenyon, I, 46, 28; 146 or 135 B.C.).

117 B.C.),¹ that of Chnubo Nebieb at Elephantine (116/5 B.C.).² We know also numerous royal statues placed in Egyptian temples, as, for instance, Ptolemy Philadelphus in the temple of Bubastis, Philadelphus, Arsinoe, and an unknown queen of the time in the temple at Heliopolis, Arsinoe II in the great temple of Isis at Philae and in the temple of Chons at Karnak, and in the twenty-second year of Philadelphus in the temple of the local gods at Phakusa.³ There can be little doubt that such incorporation became the rule, though it would appear that it did not necessarily take place at the beginning of a reign. The Canopic inscription records a decree passed in the ninth year of Ptolemy Euergetes by the synod of priests that honours paid to Ptolemy and Berenice, θεοὶ Εὐεργέται, shall be increased and that the priests of every temple in the land shall be called also priests of the Benefactor Gods, and that a new tribe of priests shall be appointed to bear their name and a new *panegyris* shall be celebrated annually for them in addition to the three monthly festivals: further, their daughter Berenice, who died during the synod, and was set in the temple of Osiris at Canopus and made immortal like Isis and Mneuis, is to have an annual festival, and a gold and jewelled image (ἄγαλμα) of her is to be set in the holy of holies (ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ) of each of the temples of the first and second order, and is to go forth in a prominent place in all processions: and she is to have a festival of her own at the same time as the Kikellia.⁴

Next, the Pithom stele in November, 217 B.C., recording a decree passed by the synod of priests at Memphis after the victory of Raphia, provides in the same way for increasing the honours paid to Ptolemy Philopator and Arsinoe and to their ancestors. He is to have a royal statue, she a statue in the most conspicuous place in each temple, fashioned according to Egyptian art. "Also they shall cause an image of the local god to be shown in the temple and set it up at the table of offerings on which the image of the king stands, the god giving the

¹ *Or. gr. inscr. sel.*, 138, brilliantly elucidated by Wilcken, *Hermes*, XXII, 1 ff.

² *Or. gr. inscr. sel.*, 168. Cf. Wilcken, *Archaeol. Anzeiger*, IV, 115, and *Arch. f. Pap.*, III, 325 ff.

³ K. Sethe, *Hierogl. Urk.*, I, 70, 71, 106. *Ibid.* also her representation with Amon and Mut and again with Amon and Chons, on the east gate of the precinct of Karnak.

⁴ *Or. gr. inscr. sel.*, 56.

king a sword of victory. The priests who are in the temples shall offer homage to the images three times a day and set the temple furniture before them and perform the other things for them, which it is proper to do, as is done for the other gods on their festivals and processions and special days." There is also to be a festival and a procession for Ptolemy (not Arsinoe apparently, but this omission may be due to the state of the text) in all the temples every year in the month of Pachon.¹ Under Philopator we have also a gold plate inscribed Σαράπιδος χα/(sic) Ἰσδος θεῶν Σωτήρων καὶ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλισσης Ἀρσινόης θεῶν Φιλοπατόρων; this suggests a joint shrine, but apparently the hieroglyphic version, which appears with the Greek, makes it clear that the meaning is "dedicated by Ptolemy and Arsinoe."²

Later, the Rosetta stone records a similar decree that a representation (εἰκὼν) of Ptolemy Epiphanes shall be set up in the most conspicuous place in every temple, and that a cult-image (ξόανον) and a shrine shall be erected for him in the holy of holies with the other shrines and shall join in the processions of sacred images, and that he shall have a five-day festival every year in the month of Thoth in every temple in the land, and that the priests of the other gods shall be called also priests of the god Epiphanes Eucharistos.³ Now this decree was passed on March 27, 196, and Ptolemy's solemn coronation happened on November 26, 197, his accession in 203 at latest. Again, he married Cleopatra in 193, but the inclusion of the two of them as θεοὶ Ἐπιφανεῖς in all priestly titles and the giving to the two of them of all the privileges given to the king in the Rosetta stone was not voted till his 21st year, 185-184 B.C., although the placing of statuary groups of the two with Amon giving the king a sword of victory had been voted for all temples two years earlier.⁴ Further, Apollonophanes in a petition of 69 B.C. to Ptolemy XIII, who came to the throne in 80, expresses his desire to restore the partly ruined temple

¹ Spiegelberg, *Sitz. Ber. bay. Ak.*, 1925, iv.; E. R. Bevan, *Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 391.

² M. L. Strack, *Die Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, 239, n. 66. G. Maspero, *Recueil de Travaux*, VII, 140. The hieroglyphic version is derived from the Greek. N.B. A fragment of an honorary decree for Philopator in Spiegelberg, *Dem. Inschr.*, 14 ff., no. 31055.

³ *Or. gr. inscr. sel.*, 98, 38 ff.

⁴ Sethe, II, 198 ff., 214 ff.; cf. Stähelin, *Pauly-Wissowa*, XI, 739.

of the crocodiles in Euhemeria and to dedicate images of Ptolemy and Cleopatra in it. He says of the temple ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἀνάκεινται τῶν προγόνων ὑμῶν εἰκόνες.¹ This text shows that such matters could rest on individual and not on synodal action. Now the priests of Isis Eseremphis and of Heracles at Theadelphia, writing to Ptolemy and Cleopatra in 70 B.C., speak of the temple of Isis and another temple of Heracles, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἰκόνες ὑμῶν ἀνάκεινται,² and clearly this is appropriate in an attempt to gain good will (εἰκῶν is not ἄγαλμα, but the Rosetta stone mentions ceremonial received by one).³ But the priests speak here only of "sacrifice and libations for you and your children." These texts are petitions, in which all that can be said to win good will is said. It follows from them that the dedication of images of the king and queen was not automatic. Further, they do not at any point allude to cultus paid *to* the ruling sovereign in the temple, though it would strengthen the case even more than the cultus performed *on his behalf* to which they do allude. It may be remarked that even in the eponymous priesthood of Alexander at Alexandria inclusion was not instantaneous, though we may have to reckon with carelessness in the texts or dilatoriness in adopting a new formula. Euergetes and his consort were apparently included in their third, fourth, or fifth year, Philopator and his in their seventh, Epiphanes between his second and seventh, though Eupator was then only crown-prince and fellow-ruler. In the cult of Ptolemy Soter at Ptolemais first the Philopatores, then in their stead Epiphanes, had a share: later, Philometor gave a priest to each Ptolemy.⁴

This incorporation of the monarch in temples had Egyptian precedents. This one might not have expected, since in Egyptian belief divinity rests in the kingship and not in the individual king, and public

¹ Preisigke-Bilabel, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, 6154 ff. I am indebted to Professor Rostovtzeff for drawing my attention to these texts.

² F. von Woess, *Das Asylwesen Ägyptens in der Ptolemäerzeit*, 247. εἰκῶν is the word used of Imperial statues as giving the right of asylum in *Corp. Herm.*, XVIII, 16. A petition on the rights of the temple of Heron at Magdola, to Ptolemy XI in 95/4 B.C., says, l. 13, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἀνακειμένων σου τε, μέγιστε βασιλεῦ, καὶ τῶν προγόνων ἰκόνων γράππων (*sic*); P. Collomp, *Recherches sur la chancellerie et la diplomatie des Lagides*, 204.

³ *Or. gr. inscr. sel.*, 90, 40.

⁴ Plaumann, *Pauly-Wissowa*, VIII, 1432 ff.; E. R. Bevan, 106 ff.

worship is an elaborate process for securing the necessary blessings through him as a medium. After death the king becomes an Osiris: Pepi may be said to sit in the bark of Ra,¹ but he has his own pyramid as his place of residence. Still, *a priori* inferences of a logical nature are liable to be misleading in matters of religious history. In point of fact we find sporadic instances of the direct enjoyment by Pharaohs both dead and living of cultus in divine temples. This is the more natural, for that Egyptian temples are so commonly shared by gods; the normal plan in the New Empire has three cellae, but later sanctuaries have many more side chapels.

Sesostris I (twelfth dynasty) built a temple to the sun-god at Heliopolis. The building inscriptions preserved in a copy on a roll of the eighteenth dynasty makes the king's companions say, "Let thy house arise, that it may offer to the oblation-tablet; that it may do the service for its favorite statue, for thy figure in all eternity." This points to an image to receive cult and to preserve the king's memory.

Thutmose III (fifteenth century B.C.) caused statues of himself and of his predecessors on the Egyptian throne to be set in shrines of stone in the temple of Amon at Karnak.² His instructions to the priests thereof include, "Give ye to my statues according as I supplied those who were before me: bring forth my statues on the day when your hands row [i.e., in the periodic voyage of the god upon the Nile or sacred lake], giving praise to my father."³ He set aside a special hall in the temple for the mortuary service of his ancestors,⁴ and had in the temple of Amon at Karnak "the statue of millions of years of my majesty, which serves in this temple and which upbends the hand for the majesty of the august god over this offering."⁵ This statue

¹ Pyramid texts cited by J. H. Breasted, *Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, 122.

² J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, I, § 504, II, §§ 156, 166. It may not be without significance that this provision comes from a ruler thrust on the throne by a *coup d'état*.

³ *Ibid.*, § 571.

⁴ *Ibid.*, § 604 f. Cf. Sethe, *Enc. Rel. Eth.*, VI, 648, for the association of prehistoric Egyptian kings after death with Atum as souls of Heliopolis.

⁵ Records, II, § 618. I quote Dr. Blackman's rendering and interpretation. Moret suggests, *Du caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique*, pp. 253, 267, that these "statues of millions of years" are statues consecrated at the end of the *sed* festival: he cites other examples. So Thutmose III receives offerings after Ptah at Thebes (*Rec.* II, § 620).

was presented with offerings after the god had been satisfied. Apparently this is in the king's life, but probably, as Dr. Blackman suggests, with the ultimate view of his receiving offerings after death. We find a statue of Thutmose III also in the temple of Osiris at Abydos, where it was put by his successor Amenhotep II.¹ The official Amenhotep, son of Hapu, set up a colossal statue of king Amenhotep III, apparently in the temple of Amon at Karnak; the same king appears with Ptah as one of the gods of Memphis and put up a cult-statue of himself in Ptah's temple.² Ramses II is carved in the round, seated with the divinities Amon-Ra, Ptah, and Ra-Harachte in the holy of holies at Abu-Simbel in Nubia.³ Ramses III says, "I made for thee [Amon at Karnak] a statue of the king of gold in hammered work resting in the place which he knows, in thy august shrine," that is, in the holy of holies, as at Medinet Habu.⁴ The official Penno put up a statue of Ramses VI in the temple of Ra or Horus built by Ramses II at Derr, and was rewarded by the king.⁵

We find also new composite foundations. Amenhotep III built a temple of Amon and himself at Soleb in Nubia.⁶ Again, Seti I (1313-1292) built at Abydos a mortuary chapel for himself, sacred to all the gods of Egypt and connected by a pylon and a causeway with the tombs of earlier kings in the desert behind: the seventh chapel has the inscription, "He made (it) as his monument for his fathers, the gods residing in 'House-of-Menmara,' making for them an august Great House in my house of millions of years, my great seat beside their majesties, (named) Menmara-Equips-Abydos."⁷ And another inscription makes Osiris say to the king, "I grant that thy majesty

¹ *Records*, II, § 186.

² § 917 and p. 354.

³ A. Erman, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, 197. Cf. Schäfer-Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients*, 314, for the royal colossi in front on either side of the door and of a representation of the Sun-god above it. For Ramses II with deities cf. Naville, *Bubastis*, 37.

⁴ *Records*, IV, § 201. The statues which he put of himself beside the group of Ptah Sekhmet and Nefertem in the temple of Ptah at Memphis (IV, § 320) were presenting offerings and are parallel to the common reliefs showing a Pharaoh worshipping.

⁵ IV. 474 ff. (Cf. A. M. Blackman, *The Temple of Derr* for the worship of Ramses II in this temple, and p. 95 for a group on the E. wall like that at Abu-Simbel.)

⁶ II, 893 ff. (895 'the king,' *ka*').

⁷ *Records*, III, 225 ff., 242. Cf. A. Caulfield, *Temple of the Kings at Abydos*.

may be as a divinised being in the city of Abydos.”¹ After the twentieth dynasty evidence seems to be lacking except for Osorkon II.

This list may suffice for us; more material is available in J. Baillet, *Le régime pharaonique*, 393 ff. It must be remarked that the close association of the king in official belief with the gods, and the frequent identifications of him and his ancestors with particular deities, make it impossible to know sometimes whether he and the god in question were treated as separate entities. Further, we have to reckon with loose phrases, such as “the house of Usermara-Meriamon-in-the-House-of-Amon” for the palace of Ramses III connected with the temple of Medinet Habu.² Moreover, sometimes when it is not necessary to suppose that an image or statue of him stood in a shrine which he had built or restored, it was called by such titles as “Amenemhet lives for ever in the house of Sobk of Shedet,” “the temple of the spirit of Seti Merneptah in the House of Amon in the West of Thebes” (possibly Seti I’s mortuary chapel, as Breasted thinks), “the temple of the Spirit of Seti Merneptah in the House of Ptah,” not to mention instances under Ramses III where the presence of a statue is not unlikely.³ Incidentally it may be suggested that statues of all the kings were probably kept in the temple of Min from which started the annual procession in the month of Pachon: Min was carried forth to meet the king, and was preceded by his holy white bull and a long line of priests carrying symbols of rule and of deities and statues of the king’s predecessors. The king himself sacrificed to his ancestors before sacrificing to Min.⁴ Further, Ramses III in an inscription in the second court of the temple of Medinet Habu tells the god, during this festival of the building and equipment of the temple: “I made my image before thy front, the regalia of every splendid costly stone, in order to follow thee and thy every appearance, at thy every feast

¹ Moret, 212.

² *Records*, IV, 17.

³ Erman-Ranke, *Ägypten*², 326; Breasted, III, 214; IV, 277, 359, 363, 366.

⁴ For the ceremony (known to us from reliefs in the Ramesseum at W. Thebes and in the temple of Medinet Habu) Erman-Ranke, 71; a possible reflex in Pseudo-Callisthenes, *Hist. Alex.*, I, 34, 2, p. 37 Kroll, ὑπαντῶντες <δὲ> τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν οἱ προφῆται τοὺς ἰδίους θεοὺς κομίζοντες ἀνηγόρευον αὐτὸν νέον Σεσόγῳσιν κοσμοκράτορα and III, 34, 5, p. 145: which temple of Min was used I do not know.

every year, when thou proceedest before its beautiful face.”¹ Here the image takes the place of the king. On the whole it is likely that some image of each Pharaoh from the eighteenth dynasty at least stood in some temple or temples which he had built. Further, an inscription in the temple of Osiris at Denderah mentions at the end of the associated deities of the temple of Senti the statues of the kings of the South and the North and gives the place of the associated deities in the ritual.² But the inscription is assigned to the Imperial age, when a number of Ptolemaic statues would be in the temple, and we must not generalise from it.

Now the vital question is: what does all this mean? Egyptian religion is in its essence objective and practical. It seeks by religious ceremonies to secure what the land needs and to ensure to the individual, first to the individual king and then to the individual commoner, the continuance of his identity, shifted to a plane on which continuance is possible. So, as Dr. Blackman has remarked to me, the statue of a dead Pharaoh was no doubt originally placed in a temple in order that he might be sustained in the after life by offerings of food and ceremonies performed before it. It was there to get and not to give. When we find the mortuary chapels of many kings of the eighteenth to twentieth dynasties dedicated to Amon, it is quite natural — and, in one sense, parallel to a phenomenon which we shall note in Asia Minor.³ But it is more. The king has been in his life a channel of divine grace: and after death his honour and the means of his survival are attached to a cult foundation. It is, allowing for all the differences, not entirely unlike the burial of a bishop in the crypt of his cathedral. Fundamentally it is a form of what Farnell calls

¹ Breasted, IV, 9. So in the *sed* festival an image of the living king was perhaps used symbolically for him: Moret, 248.

² Loret, *Rec. des Travaux*, III, 54, V, 91.

³ Cf. Breasted, *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, II, 64. The temple of Der-el-Bahari, built by Hatschepsut, is dedicated to Amon of Thebes and in part to Hathor, Anubis, and Ra-Harachte, but also to the mortuary service of the queen and of her parents (Schäfer-Andrae, *op. cit.*, 63: cf. 68): so in the temple of Amenhotep III at Luxor we have the representation of the king guarded by the holy animals (*ibid.* 79). In this connection we must remember the importance for the king of the temple or temples built by himself and also Wiedemann's observation, *Arch. f. Rel.*, VII, 474, that a new cult-image of a god is in Egypt in a sense a new god: cf. Schäfer-Andrae, 84, on the god of Amenophis IV. For the Anatolian analogy, cf. p. 50, n. 7, *infra*.

tendance. When a statue was once set in a temple, mysterious power might be ascribed to it, but that is something secondary.

This aspect of ruler-cult, that it is a matter of giving to the ruler and not getting from him, really runs through much of its history. When the Athenians sang to Demetrius Poliorcetes, "Give us peace," they meant it in the literal sense. Did any man pray to Augustus as he did to Asclepius? The real deification of Amenhotep I as of the wise man Imhotep, who was not a king, is quite another thing, just as the canonisation of King Edward the Confessor or St. Louis of France is quite different from the belief in the normal, royal power to heal the king's evil. We find ancient rulers credited with miracles, but these miracles are not connected with their cultus. The king's automatic divinity *qua* Pharaoh might almost be said to militate against individual recognition. Yet during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth dynasties we do find personal cultus repeatedly. It hangs together with a general rise in prosperity and a rise in the position of the monarchy. Thereafter came political disorganisation and a rise in the power of the priesthood. We might expect the kings of the eighteenth to twentieth dynasties to survive as demigods after this, but with sporadic exceptions it is not so.¹

Two further points should be remarked. First, the mere placing of a statue in a temple is not an honour strictly reserved for royalty. The official Amenhotep, son of Hapu, had a statue in the temple of

¹ Cf. K. Sethe, *Enc. Rel. Eth.*, VI, 647 ff., and on Imhotep, Ch. Boreux, *Rev. hist. rel.*, XCVII, 287, Wiedemann, *Arch. f. Rel.*, XXI, 459; on a dead Pharaoh worshipped on the isle of Bige, cf. Sethe, *Zeit. äg. Spr.*, XLVII, 166; on a temple built at Dendera for Menepthah in his lifetime, cf. Breccia, *Aegyptus*, I, 90. Amenhotep III and his wife Teje were worshipped in their lifetime in temples built *ad hoc* in Nubia (Schäfer-Andrae, 83). Cf. G. Roeder, *Zeit. äg. Spr.*, LXI, 57 ff., for many monuments showing cultus of a statue of Ramses II as "Mont in both lands," "great god who hears prayer," etc. (we have apparently the remains of a factory for such things), and individual monuments showing cult of statues of Ramses III and Amenhotep II: A. H. Gardiner, *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, IV, 188 f., for the cult of rulers of the early eighteenth dynasty as illustrated by Theban tombs of the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties, and for real prayer to Amosis I and his wife: also A. Moret, *Trans. III, Cong. Hist. Rel.*, I, 216 ff. (stele again with real prayers). A. Wiedemann, *Orient. Lit. Zeit.*, III, 361-363 (deification of private persons in the period). Cf. Baillet, *op. cit.*, 395, for reliefs showing kings worshipping their own images, we have to reckon with the influence of the familiar type of the king worshipping his *ka* (cf. Blackman, *Derr*, 97).

Amon in Karnak, “(given as a favo)r of the king’s presence to the temple of Amon in Karnak.” Here there is doubtless no question of cultus, as also with the statues of priests in the temple of Amon at Karnak, but the nomarch Hepzefi in the twelfth dynasty had a statue in the temple of Anubis and contracted with the priests of the temple of Upwawet (Ophois) of Siut that his statue should receive a white loaf from each of them, when Upwawet came to the temple, and other offerings on other occasions.¹ This also falls, like the normal royal posthumous statues, under the rubric of tendance. Secondly, the king himself places statues in temples. He needs no permission or vote for the very good reason that *qua* Pharaoh he is “in theory the high priest of all the local divinities,” and the heads of the local priesthoods are in theory his representatives.² So when Ptolemy II ordained the placing of Arsinoe’s *Widderbild* in all temples, he was acting within his rights.

There was then a Pharaonic background. At the same time Ptolemaic practice is radically different from earlier Pharaonic custom. First, in the latter we find such statues with cultus only in particular temples and at particular times: the bulk of our monumental evidence makes the argument from silence for once fairly safe. Secondly, the priestly synods which *confer* such sharing as an honour are an innovation. We do not hear of synods till the twentieth year of Ptolemy II. It may be suggested that their origin is to be sought in the Persian period of rule: the priests might well then feel the need of some means of maintaining contact and strengthening national feeling.³ The old rulers of the land had strong interests in particular temples: so had the Ptolemies, but the general character of their organisation would incline

¹ II, 912; How and Wells on Herodotus II, 143: *Records*, I, 540, etc. With Hepzefi compare the way in which Senu-she-sheps, after setting up statues of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe I (?), asks for offerings for himself (W. M. F. Petrie, *Koptos*, 21, and G. Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Petosiris*, I, 170 (P. is represented as saying to his dead brother, “Ta statue a été transportée au temple de Thot, gravée à ton nom, pour faire que ton nom soit commémoré dans le temple de Thot à jamais,” and *ibid.*, 192.

² A. M. Blackman in Hastings’ *Encycl. Religion and Ethics*, X, 293 ff.

³ Strabo, XVII, 1, 37, p. 811, records a tradition that the nomes used to meet with their priests and priestesses in the labyrinth in the Fayum: what basis, if any, this has, I do not know.

them to desire to have a compact priesthood with which to deal, and would give them a taste for universal honours. Whether there is any Egyptian background for the idea of placing statues in divine temples and giving a share in cultus out of gratitude, I do not know: it sounds very much like the strictly Greek way of honouring benefactors, to which we shall return. Thirdly, there seems to be no Pharaonic parallel for making the king a genuine partner in *all* temples. If Moret's view of the conservation of statues of the king in the *per-duat* of temples and their daily cultus be accepted, it remains different in that it is an honour automatically paid to the Pharaoh as such and not conferred on the individual monarch for merit, and his position is probably still that of mediator between the gods and Egypt. In any case his view of its meaning is very disputable. The room is probably a room for the king's ritual toilet.¹ In any case, the thoroughness of Ptolemy II is of a piece with all his policy, and the organisation of a state church unique in Hellenistic kingdoms made it possible.

Herein lies the change. At the same time the Ptolemies continue in the Pharaonic way to be represented in the reliefs on temple walls as sacrificing to the gods: but here they are the representatives of the people before the gods and not the partners of the gods. This artistic tradition continues under the Empire, the Roman *princeps* being in Egypt the successor of the Ptolemies and of the Pharaohs.² (Some statues of Pharaohs in temples serve the same purpose as these reliefs and are analogous to Assyrian statues of rulers and officials in temples).³

¹ *Op. cit.*, 253: *contra*, Kees, *Recueil de Travaux*, XXXVI, 1 ff.; A. M. Blackman, *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, V, 148 ff.

² So earlier, Alexander before Amon at Luxor (Weigall, *Ancient Egyptian Works of Art*, 341). To take a few examples from Baedeker's *Ägypten*⁸: — Ptolemy XVI before the gods of Dendera (257); Ptolemy IV and the four senses before Horus at Edfu (361); various Ptolemies at Kom Ombo (366); Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero before Hathor at Dendera (254); Claudius and Vespasian at the sides of the winged sun in the temple of Chnum at Esna (347); and on its south wall Domitian striking his enemies (348), a king or emperor before the Apis bull at Kôm-el-Schuk, 16.

A relief of Ptolemy I before Horus now at Hildesheim: Augustus before Osiris at Karnak, Weigall, 353: before Isis at Tentyra, J. G. Milne, *Egypt under Roman Rule*³, 3 fig. 2: being formed by Chnum and given life by Hekt in a relief at Tentyra *ibid.* 4 fig. 4. Many more excellent illustrations in Milne's book.

³ Cf. p. 11, n. 4, *supra*: S. Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, 63.

We might expect that the *princeps* would, like the Ptolemies, be incorporated in the cultus of all the temples in the land.¹ There is, however, no evidence in support of this, and nothing like the decrees of priestly synods in favour of particular Ptolemies and the priestly titulature including their names specifically.² Further, there is no clear evidence for the meeting in Roman times of priestly synods able to vote universal honours.³ Rome did not encourage independence or initiative in the native priesthood: they were under the iron rule of the Idios Logos and the government did not concern itself to secure demonstrations of loyalty. To the Ptolemies, hard masters as they were, Egypt was their kingdom: to the Romans it was simply a field for exploitation. We have good reason to believe that Rome definitely began a new epoch in Egypt. The Ptolemies had been given a place in the cult of Alexander at Alexandria, the visible sign of the continuity of Greek rule. Octavian, in spite of his respect for Alexander, broke with this tradition. He transformed the temple begun by Cleo-

¹ So Otto, I, 11, Blumenthal, *Archiv. für Papyrusforschung*, V, 317; Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, I, 121, adopts a judicious reserve.

² In Wilcken, *Chrest.*, I, no. 86 we find an ἀρχιπροφήτης τῶν κυρίων Αὐτοκρατόρων [Σεβ]αστῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν Ἡλίου πόλει καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερῶν. He is not the official of a joint cult but the priest of the Egyptian form of emperor-worship who possesses at the same time administrative authority over older native temples. An analogous and higher position is that of ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Αἰγύπτου πάσης (*Grundz.*, 121). In the epitaph of Imouth (Revillout, *Revue égyptologique*, II, 102) his brother Pse-Amen is described as "prophet of Ptah, chief pontiff of Memphis, prophet of Hor-neb-sehem, prophet of Caesar." This looks like pluralism.

³ W. Otto, *Sitzungsber. bayerischen Akademie*, 1926, ii, 23, suggests that Philostratus, *V. Apoll.*, V, 27, probably indicates a meeting of priests from all districts of Egypt on the occasion of Vespasian's visit to Alexandria. Philostratus says προσόντι δὲ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ πρὸ πυλῶν ἀπήντα καὶ τὰ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τέλη καὶ οἱ νομοί, καθ' οὓς Αἴγυπτος τέτμηται, φιλόσοφοί τε ὡσαύτως καὶ σοφία πᾶσα. This, if historical, looks like a meeting of delegates of *all* kinds. In effect in the story these people are merely an effective foil to Apollonius who stays in the temple and *is visited by the Emperor*. [One could suppose that the Sarapis miracles for the Emperor might have some effect in encouraging local processions: but it seems better to regard the story as a fiction.] Otto gives another weightier ground in support of the existence of synods under the Empire, namely the uniformity of the honours paid to the Emperors in temple inscriptions. This can however be explained from communication as well as from meetings, or from suggestions made by the Idios Logos. Otherwise we should have to assume very frequent synods. For a local synod under Nero, cf. W. Otto, *Priester*, I, 73.

patra for Antony into a *Καيسάρειον*, a temple for himself in which his successors shared his worship as they did at Philae in the temple built by P. Rubrius Barbarus and elsewhere in *Σεβαστεία* or *Καيسάρεια*:¹ these correspond to the *templum Divorum* erected in Rome in the middle of the second century A.D. with a chapel for each consecrated Emperor.²

Individual Emperors may have been given a share in the cultus of individual deities. In the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at Arsinoe, which can hardly be regarded as typical, we find a reference in the accounts of the year A.D. 215 to money spent *εἰς ἀνάστασιν τοῦ ἀνασταθέντος θείου κ[ολοσ]σιαίου ἀνδριάντος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος Σεουήρου Ἀντωνίνου*.³ This is *ἀνδριάς*, not *ἄγαλμα*, and is most easily explained as an ordinary *ex-voto*, though it should be noted that the statue which Claudius accepts in his famous letter and which is to go in processions on Imperial days is *ἀνδριάς*.⁴ It has been suggested that the Caesar statues carried off by the Ethiopians in 24 B.C. came from temples, and that the *ἀνδριάντες* in the temple of Isis Nephremmis and *ἀνδριαντάρεια* in the temple of Soknopaios on the island of Soknopaios were Imperial statues, but neither assumption seems to me certain or, if accepted, evidence on our point.⁵ An inventory of dedications in temples at Oxyrhynchus and in the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite nomes in A.D. 213-217 includes many *private* votives of the Emperor and his relations, an *εἰκονίδιον* of them coming first in each section. Here there is no question of representation for worship. The second line of the papyrus mentions *κωμαστῶν προ[τομῶν τοῦ] κυρί[ου] Σεβαστοῦ καὶ νίκης [αὐτοῦ προαγούσης καὶ] Ἰουλίας Δόμνας Σεβαστῆς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ (?) Σεουήρου] νων αὐτῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ὄντων ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει*; the mutilation makes it uncertain, but it looks as

¹ Blumenthal, *loc. cit.*, 318; *Grundz.*, 120; Suidas s.v. *ἡμίεργον*. Cf. the temple for Trajan and his predecessors at Alcantara, *Carm. lat. epigr.*, 878; and at Forum Clodii the genius of Tiberius and that of Augustus were invited to eat at the altar of Augustus (Dessau, *Inscr. lat. sel.*, 154).

² Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², 347. So the *sodales Augustales* come to be concerned with the cultus of all deified members of the Julian line.

³ Wilcken, *Chrest.* I, no. 96, vi, 4.

⁴ Line 34 ff. (Bell, *Jews and Christians*, 24); an *ἀνδριάς* Ἰλίου Ἀπόλλωνος in *Pap. Soc. Ital.* 950.16: [in the same temple "Ἀλεξ χαλ' ἀνδριάς].

⁵ Blumenthal, *loc. cit.*

if these busts which received worship stood in their own temple or temples.¹

One supposed case of temple-sharing must be mentioned. A coin of Alexandria struck in Hadrian's seventeenth year shows him laying his hand on an object which has been thought to be a shrine but is probably a stele with the inscription ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ: on the other side of the stele stands Sarapis with his right hand raised and a sceptre in his left hand.² W. Weber has suggested that this points to a shrine of Hadrian within the precinct of Sarapis.³ But the object with Sarapis laying his hand on it appears on a coin of Trajan's second year and on coins of Hadrian's second to eighth, tenth, and eleventh years, and in its first appearance may well be, as Vogt suggests, the record of some miracle of the god's. May not the stele on the coin of the seventeenth year record a dedication by the priesthood in gratitude for some benefaction by Hadrian? The same type of stele would be used to commemorate this. The type of the Emperor meeting the god is familiar and does not imply temple-sharing.⁴ An admirable illustration is a Roman coin of the next year, 134, to which Miss Toynbee has drawn my attention: on its reverse we read ADVENTVI AVG ALEXANDRIAE S C, and see Sarapis and Isis standing right and offering hands to Hadrian and Sabina standing left.⁵ As she remarks, it is the only *Adventus*

¹ *P. Oxy.*, 1449.

² *B. M. C., Alexandria*, pl. 29, no. 875 f., and p. 103. The view that the object is a stele is due to J. Vogt, *Die Alexandrinischen Münzen*, I, 69³⁶⁶; Dr. G. F. Hill has kindly confirmed it.

³ *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 261 ff.

⁴ Cf. the greeting of Seti I by Hathor on a pillar-relief from his grave in Thebes (Schäfer-Andrae, 375), a gem with Helios-Suchos greeting an Egyptian king (Weber, *Die ägyptisch-griechischen Terrakotten*, I, 141, Abb. 86), and outside Egypt the Nemrud-Dagh reliefs, Trajan's posthumous arch at Beneventum, Gallienus grasping hand of Apollo on a coin of Side (*B. M. C., Lycia*, 160, no. 111), and Sassanian investiture scenes; Tyche of a city actually doing homage before Parthian kings on coins (*B. M. C., Parthia*, lxx f. Mr. W. W. Tarn kindly adds references to J. Morgan, *Numismatique de la Perse antique*, 134; H. Dressel, *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, XXXIII, 177; Allotte de la Fuye, *Rev. Num.* Ser. IV, VIII, 355).

In Egypt there is ultimately a liturgical background for this in the ceremonial meeting of the king by Min at the annual festival (Erman-Ranke², 71), and in the greeting of Queen Ahmose by Thoth (*Records*, II, 204): it is instructive to contrast the attitude of the Babylonian king to his god at the New Year festival.

⁵ Mattingly-Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, II, 452, no. 877.

type on which the country is represented by a god. For such a commemoration the accusative is the right case: we may compare a Thesalian coin of the period with ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΙ,¹ a coin of Miletus with ΑΤΤΟ ΤΡΑΙΑΝ . . ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ,² and a series of Emperor's names in the accusative on coins of Pergamon.³ We know that there was a 'Αδριανέιον in Alexandria: but the inscription mentioning an ἀρχιερεὺς 'Αδριανέιου καὶ Σεβαστῶν⁴ and pointing to an incorporation of later Emperors in this cult, as in that of Augustus, seems to me to militate against the idea that this foundation occupied a subordinate and dependent position. We have had occasion earlier to refer to the danger of the argument from silence, but I cannot but believe that we should have more definite numismatic and other echoes of the admission of an Imperial cult in the celebrated Serapeum at Alexandria.

We have considered the official place of the Ptolemies and the possible place of the Roman Emperors in Egyptian temples. It remains that we should say something about private action. We learn from P. Petrie (III, i, 7) of a privately built temple to Berenice and Arsinoë Aphrodite in the Fayum in the tenth year of Euergetes, and we hear in 222 B.C. of a private sanctuary to the Syrian goddess and Aphrodite Berenice at Pelusion.⁵ It seems that this developed by *circa* 186 B.C. into a temple of Zeus Soter, Thea Syria, and Theoi Synnaoi: the last, no doubt, are or include members of the Ptolemaic house. Here partnership is fairly clear: but in the cult of Arsinoë II, as at Zephyrion in the shrine built by Kallikrates, ναῖσκός 'Αρσινόης 'Αφροδίτης, we have probably an identification: I mean that there was *one* cult-image, and when Theocritus (XVII, 50) says to Aphrodite, "Thou didst set

¹ *B. M. C., Thessaly*, 7, no. 77: this is on *obv.* with a bust of Hadrian; the *rev.* represents Pallas Itonia fighting.

² *B. M. C., Ionia*, 199, no. 157, also an *obv.* with bust: the *rev.* shows Miletos advancing left.

³ H. von Fritze, *Die Münzen von Pergamon (Anh. Abh. preuss. Akad., 1910)*, 78 ff. He connects the type ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ with the building of the temple to Augustus and Roma. But, as it continued with later emperors to Hadrian and reappears with Julia Mamaea, it must have come to be treated as purely honorific, as G. Macdonald suggested, *Coin Types*, 161.

⁴ Weber, 261962.

⁵ Wilcken, *Chrestomathie*, no. 101, and in *Festgabe Deissmann*.

Berenice in thy temple and give her a share of thy honour," he is referring to some similar private foundation, whether a partnership or a fusion.¹ The government's sympathy with such identification appears in the naming of streets in Alexandria Ἀρσινόης Ἐλεήμονος, χαλκιοίκου, καρποφόρου, Νίκης, probably Ἐλευσινίας.² A curious later survival of a similar identification is Ἀφροδείτης τῆς καὶ Κλεοπάτρ[as in a papyrus of the time of Severus Alexander.³ When all is said and done, we can understand an ancient feeling that if Aphrodite is in a sense Isis she can also in a sense be Arsinoe.

We may also here note the εἰκών (not ἄγαλμα) of Ptolemy II, set in the temple of Apollo at Miletus out of gratitude and mentioned in an inscription which Rehm dates 262-260 B.C. and Tarn before 274.⁴ Here, as with the statue of Seleucus in the same temple,⁵ there is no question of a cult-image.

4. The Dionysiac guild of actors, called originally οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται, from time to time included various rulers in their title, making it for instance τεχνῖται οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ θεοὺς Ἀδελφούς, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν κατὰ Κύπρον περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ θεοὺς Εὐεργέτας τεχνιτῶν, τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ Αὐτοκράτορα Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν Σεβαστὸν Καίσαρα νέον Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν.⁶ But this titulature is not cumulative as was that of the Egyptian priesthoods discussed earlier, and does not necessarily imply a share in joint cultus. In

¹ Cf. Pfeiffer, *Kallimachosstudien*, 34 ff., on this, on the temple of Aphrodite Bilistiche, and on a possible association of Philotera and Demeter: references for the temple at Zephyrion in D. S. Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, 356 ff.

² H. I. Bell, *Journ. Egypt. Arch.*, XII, 247.

³ Wilcken, *Chrest.*, no. 115. A striking illustration of the way in which she impressed her time is the fact that her ornaments were dedicated in temples (just as the elder Stratonice dedicated at Delos the necklace of her father Demetrius Poliorcetes; *Inscr. gr.* XI, ii, 199 B, l. 51, to which Mr. Tarn drew my attention), and a representation of her in gold set in the temple of Venus at Rome (Dio Cassius, LI, 22, 3. One had been set there by Julius according to Appian, *B. C.*, II, 102, § 424).

⁴ Rehm, *Milet*, III, 301, *inscr.* 139, 53: Tarn, *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, XLVI, 159, and his forthcoming reply in *Hermes*, 1930, to Otto's support of Rehm in *Beiträge zur Seleukidengeschichte*.

⁵ *Milet*, III, 383, *inscr.* 158.

⁶ Reference in M. San Nicolo, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer*, I, 46 ff. Cf. their honours to Athenion as emissary of Mithradates (Posidon. *ap.* Athenaeum, V, p. 212 D).

one instance, however, this is attested, where there is no additional title. A decree found at Athens records a decision of the guild to set the image, ἄγαλμα, of Ariarathes V of Cappadocia (162-130 B.C.) beside the god, and dedicate a bronze statue, εἰκών, in the propylaea of the temenos, and to offer sacrifice on his behalf, and to crown the king's image and offer incense to it, and make a torch illumination (later ἄγαλμα and εἰκών are referred to as εἰκόνες).¹ Here as commonly the motive of gratitude is expressed, and, though there is not joint sacrifice, the king's ἄγαλμα receives a wreath and incense.

5. We pass to Pergamon. A decree of the citizens of a town in the kingdom, probably Elaea, its port, set on a marble stele in the temple of Asklepios before the cella, provides that an image of Attalus III, five cubits in stature, wearing a breastplate and standing on spoils, shall be dedicated in the shrine of Asklepios,² in order that he may share it, ἵνα ᾗ σύνναος τῷ θεῷ that a golden representation of him on horseback shall be put in the market-place beside the altar of Zeus Soter "in order that it may be in the most conspicuous spot in the market-place"; that on each day the στεφανηφόρος, or chief priest of the city, and the king's priest shall offer incense on the altar of Zeus Soter τῷ βασιλεῖ "for" or "to the king"; that the eighth of the month, the day on which he came to Pergamon,³ shall for ever be a sacred day and that on it a procession shall pass from the prytaneum to the precinct belonging to Asklepios and the king, and there shall be a meeting of the magistrates in the temple at the costs of the sacred funds of Asklepios; that whensoever the king comes to this city, he is to be re-

¹ Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inscr. sel.*, 352. For δαῖδα ἰστάνειν, cf. p. 34, *infra* (Julia Domna), and F. J. Dölger, *Sol. Salutis*², 674 on θυσίαι, λυχναῖαι, θυμιάματα before Constantine's statue on a column in Constantinople.

² Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, 332. καθιερώσαι is not really distinct from vaguer terms like ἀνατίθεναι (G. Hock, *Griechische Weihegebräuche*, Diss. Würzburg, 1905, p. 5): it occurs with the dative of the person honoured in an inscription in R. Herzog, *Koische Forschungen und Funde*, 135, no. 212, καθιέρωσεν Νικαγόρα Εὐδάμου Φιλοπάτριδι δάμου νιῷ ἥρῳ φιλοκαίσαρι.

It is tempting to date the text early in the reign of Attalus III: ὅταν δὲ παραγίνηται εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν (line 26) implies that no royal visit has yet taken place.

³ On his return from his embassy to Rome where he went in 153 or on his solemn entry as king. Cf. the altar (?) Ἀπολλωνίδος ἀποβατηρίας at Pergamon (von Prott, *Ath. Mitth.*, XXVII, 176) and commemorations of Hadrian's arrival (Weber, *Untersuchungen*, 225, etc.): also A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, 11804.

ceived with elaborate ceremonial and prayers for his welfare,¹ and a very beautiful sacrifice is to be offered τῷ βασιλεῖ on the altar of Zeus Soter; similar sacrifices are to be made in the king's porch, on the altar of Hestia Boulaia, and on the altar of Zeus Boulaios (a great Pergamene deity). He has therefore an ἄγαλμα, a cult-image, in the shrine of Asklepios and is his partner: he has an εἰκών, a representation of a complimentary kind in the most conspicuous site possible;² and he receives sacrifices on the altars of Zeus Soter, Zeus Boulaios, Hestia Boulaia, as well as on an unnamed altar, perhaps his own, in the King's Porch.³

These datives, τῷ βασιλεῖ, may be construed "for the king" not "to the king," but in view of the priesthood assigned to Attalus the dative is at least ambiguous: clarity would have demanded ὑπέρ with the genitive, the regular formula in dedications or offerings to a god on behalf of a king (even when called θεός)⁴ or other person. Thus, an offering to Apollo and Leto and Artemis at Delphi *circa* 162-160 B.C. is called τὰ Ἀττάλεια but defined καθὼς διατέτακται ὑπὲρ τὸν βασιλέα Ἀτταλον, and it is there prescribed that the decree shall be engraved on the representation of Attalus, presumably a statue with a substantial base.⁵ Delphi had an analogous Eumeneia, founded at the same time⁶ like the Ἀλκεσίππεια, a sacrifice to Apollo on funds left by Alcesippus founded in 182 B.C.,⁷ and the Πυθόκλεια Διὶ Σωτήρι on Cos, for Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira, established probably in the third century B.C.⁸

¹ For this solemnity on an arrival cf. N. Svensson, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* I, 534.

² On the distinction, p. 3, *supra*, but note that they have inscriptions in the same form; ὁ δῆμος βασιλέα Ἀτταλον Φιλομήτορα καὶ Εὐεργέτην θεοῦ βασιλέως Εὐμένου Σωτήρος ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας τῆς κατὰ πόλεμον, κρατήσαντα τῶν ὑπεναντίων on the image, and ὁ δ. β. Ἀ. Φ. κ. Ε. θ. β. Ε. Σ. ἀ. ἔ. καὶ φρονήσεως τῆς συναυξούσης τὰ πράγματα καὶ μεγαλομερείας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὸν on the statue.

³ Line 47, θῦσαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλας θυσίας ἐπὶ στωιᾶ[ι τῇ βασιλικῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ] τῆς βουλαίας Ἑστίας καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ βουλαίου.

⁴ *Or. gr. inscr. sel.*, 94 (Ptolemy V), 175 (Cleopatra III and Ptolemy XI). On double datives in altar inscriptions, cf. 47 ff., *infra*. This sacrifice is "on the altar of Zeus," not "to Zeus."

⁵ Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³ 672, 50 ff. ⁶ *Ibid.*, 671, with note 13. ⁷ *Ibid.*, 631.

⁸ Paton-Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, 62, no. 34. Cf. the *Augustalia* offered on the occasion of the return of Augustus in 19 B.C.; they were not originally directed to Augustus (Wissowa, *Pauly-Wissowa*, II, 2361-2362).

In these last instances the sacrifice is *for* not *to* the human being honoured. Religious conceptions might well be less clearcut at Pergamon than at Delphi: the idea of combination recurs in the games provided by Sardis as Ἀθαναῖα καὶ Εὐμένεια.¹

Whether Attalus III continued to occupy a place in the temple of Asklepios at Elaea, we do not know: we find temple-sharing at Pergamon itself later: an inscription mentions a priestess of "Athena Nikephoros and Athena Polias and Julia enthroned with her, a new Nikephoros, daughter of Germanicus Caesar." This Julia is Julia Livilla, and the dedication is with reason referred to the first years of the reign of Caligula, between 37 and her exile in 39: Caligula then forbade the paying of any honours to his kin. Here also the position was therefore presumably temporary: a cult-image was lodged in the cella, an addition made to the title of the priestess, one more form of Athena recognised for the time being, and then the innovations no doubt lapsed. There are two inscriptions relating to a priestess of the joint cult (whether the same priestess or not we cannot tell, owing to the fragmentary state of the second inscription): elsewhere the addition to her title does not appear and clearly it was dropped.² A lasting partnership here was that of Zeus Philios and Trajan, who share a temple and a penteteric festival; on a coin we see the seated god and standing emperor side by side in a shrine. The partnership can run into identification: here it is likely that there was a pre-existing cult of Zeus Philios and an open-air altar, but the temple of the joint cult is a *new* foundation existing by A.D. 113.³ The assimilation on a coin-type of Asklepios to Marcus Aurelius and of Hygieia to Faustina junior⁴ need not rest on more than an assimilation or identification in the air or in a magistrate's or coin-engraver's mind at the moment. It is, however, possible that Caracalla was worshipped in the restored Ionian temple in the theatre terrace, as was inferred

¹ *Or. gr. inscr. sel.*, 305 (a little after 167 B.C.). Athena was a goddess very close to the throne; Lambrino announces, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1927, 137, the discovery of an inscription recording the request of Eumenes to Iasos in 182 B.C. to found a new feast for Athena Nikephoros.

² *Or. gr. inscr. sel.*, 474. For a fragmentary inscription perhaps referring to another such priestess, cf. M. Fränkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon*, II, no. 498.

³ Fränkel, II, no. 269. A convenient summary in A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, 1179 ff.

⁴ H. von Fritze, *Nomisma*, II, 24; *Die Münzen von Pergamon*, 74 ff.

by M. Fränkel from the dedicatory inscription,¹ and the earlier user of this temple may have been, as von Fritze argues, an Asklepios snake.² Nevertheless, in the shrine as represented on coins there is *one* throned figure and it is possible that we have here not partnership but a restoration of the temple *in honour of* the Emperor or in identification of him with Asklepios. It should not be forgotten that a temple can be used for purposes entirely different from those for which it was originally intended, as, for instance, the Metroon at Olympia, of which Pausanias tells us that, though it retained its name, it contained *no* image of the Mother of the gods, but statues of Roman emperors:³ so again Suetonius records that the client kings subject to Augustus unanimously determined to complete the temple of Zeus Olympios at Athens and dedicate it to his Genius.⁴ Caligula was reported to desire to appropriate the temple which the Milesians were building for Apollo:⁵ the *Maison Carrée* at Nîmes was thrice dedicated, though without any such spiritual discontinuity.⁶ On a lower plane we may record the Rhodian practice, stigmatised by Dion of Prusa, of altering the ascriptions of honorific statues.⁷

6. In Egypt and at Pergamon we have considered Hellenistic practice and its Roman sequel. Before we proceed to our other Roman

¹ *Inscripfen*, II, no. 299, p. 225 ff. ΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙ ΚΑΙΣ[ΑΡΙ Μ. ΑΤΡ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝ]ΩΙ ΣΕΒΑΣ[ΤΩΙ Η ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ Τ]ΩΝ ΤΡΙΣ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ [. . . . ΚΑΘΙΕΡΩΣΕΝ]: cf. G. Quandt, *Dissertationes philologicae Halenses*, XXI, ii, 127.

² *Nomisma*, II, 30 ff., supported by B. Pick, *Judeich Festschrift*, 34 ff., from numismatic evidence.

³ V, 20, 9, with Frazer's note. It is possible that a precinct on Thera sacred to the Imperial house was previously sacred to the Ptolemies and Dionysos (H. von Gärtringen, *Die Insel Thera*, I, 175, 239 ff.).

⁴ *Aug.*, 60.

⁵ Dio Cassius, 59, 28, 1.

⁶ D. S. Robertson, *Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture*, 214; *ibid.*, 340, for the temple at Vienne, belonging first to Roma and Augustus and after Livia's apotheosis in A.D. 42 to Augustus and Livia.

⁷ Cf. R. Heberdey, *Jahreshefte*, I, *Beibl.*, 78, for a letter from M. Aurelius and Verus forbidding the changing of old Imperial statues at Ephesus to take their features. The Hermes of Praxiteles, a votive offering and not a cult-image (Pausanias, V, 17, 3), may have been touched up in Nero's honour (E. Pfuhl, *Jahrb. arch. Inst.*, XLIII, 13).

Epiphanius, *Panarion*, XXX, 12, tells us of an attempt by the inhabitants of Tiberias to turn an unfinished temple, apparently of Hadrian, into public baths.

evidence, one more Hellenistic record calls for consideration. Antiochus I of Commagene erected for himself a cairn on the summit of the Nemroud Dagħ and, as he tells us,

I chose to consecrate this spot as a sacred seat for all the gods to share, that so there may be not only this heroic band of mine ancestors which thou seest established by my care but also the divine semblance of manifest deities sanctified on a holy summit, and that this place may be a witness that shall not fail to tell of my piety. Wherefore, as thou seest, I have established these godlike effigies (ἀγάλματα) of Zeus Oromasdes and Apollon Mithras Helios Hermes and Artagnes Herakles Ares and mine all nurturing country Commagene. Moreover, of the self same stone-work I have set up a copy of my own form enthroned with the gods who answer prayer, and have caused the ancient honour of great deities to become coeval with a new Tyche, thereby preserving a just representation of an immortal mind which was often seen as my manifest helper propitious in helping me in my royal contests, σύνθρονον χαρακτηῖρα μορφῆς ἐμῆς συνανέθηκα καὶ τύχης νέας ἡλικιώτιν ἀρχαίαν θεῶν μεγάλων τιμὴν ἐποιήσάμην.¹

He defines the purpose of his institution as "for the revering of the gods and our own honour" (line 79, εἰς τε θεῶν σεβασμὸν καὶ ἡμετέρας τιμὰς): later in the *lex sacra* (lines 144-145) we have εἰς τιμὰς θεῶν τε καὶ ἡμετέρας and (174-177) τοὺς ἱεροδούλους, οὓς ἐγὼ θεοῖς τε καὶ τιμαῖς ἐμαῖς κατὰ δαιμόνιον βούλησιν ἀνέθηκα.² The rites instituted are the hallowing of the days of his birth and accession: incense is to be offered to each of the ancestors, victims to the gods and to the King,

¹ *Or. gr. inscr. sel.*, 383 = L. Jalabert — R. Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, I, 1 ff., a convenient description of the remains in A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, I, 742 ff. Note ἀθανάτου φροντίδος ἢ πολλάκις ἐμοὶ παραστάτις ἐπιφανὴς εἰς βοήθειαν ἀγώνων βασιλικῶν εὐμενὴς ἑωρᾶτο. Moulton regards ἀθανάτου φροντίδος as a reference to the king's *Fravashi* (*Early Zoroastrianism*, 107, 254 ff.). It is however identified with νέας Τύχης and may be rather the king's *Hvareno* or glory: cf. Cumont, *Textes et monuments relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, I, 285 ff., and Jalabert's note. In view of the admixture of Greek ideas it is perhaps impossible to determine the precise Persian equivalent: Antiochus means something like *Hvareno* or *Fravashi* or δαίμων.

² The last phrase in the similar monument at Jelik (Jalabert, I, 51, l. 16 f.). Yet he also is in an intermediary position: with the gods but not quite of them: cf. the end ὅστις τε ἂν βασιλεὺς ἢ δυνάστης ἐν μακρῷ χρόνῳ ταύτην ἀρχὴν παραλάβῃ, νόμον τοῦτον καὶ τιμὰς ἡμετέρας διαφυλάσσωσιν καὶ παρὰ τῆς ἐμῆς εὐχῆς ἵλεως δαίμονας καὶ θεοὺς πάντας ἐχέτω. παρανόμῳ δὲ γνώμῃ κατὰ δαιμόνων τιμῆς καὶ χωρὶς ἡμετέρας ἀρᾶς παρὰ θεῶν ἐχθρὰ πάντα. He has power as an intercessor, like Alexander of Abonutichus: cf. *Class. Quart.*, XXII, 160 ff.

suitable food and wine are to be provided for a general entertainment, and music is to be performed. Antiochus further tells us that he has made financial provision for the cult and the personnel for all time.

This, like the king's foundation at Samosata¹ and the Zeus-Trajan temple at Pergamon, is a *new* foundation. It implies the reception of the King into the company of the gods and the reliefs adorning the monument illustrate this meaning. The whole institution is a blend of Greek and Persian elements: its author speaks of the images as made καθ' ἃ παλαιὸς λόγος Περσῶν τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων, ἐμοῦ γένους εὐτυχεστάτη ρίζα, παραδέδωκεν (line 28). The names of deities are largely Persian, the ceremonial dress of the priests is to be Persian, and it should be noted that the sacrifice on the hilltop accompanied by a banquet for the populace is like the sacrifice of Mithradates to Zeus Stratios, described by Appian and said by him to have a parallel at Pasargadae.² At the same time Persian ideas of the resurrection of the body are notably ignored. It is so with the style of the document. It is *au fond* very much in the tradition of Achaemenid inscriptions and very much like the later self-predications of Kartir Hormizd at Naqsh i Rajab and at Naqsh i Rostam in early Sassanian times;³ a small king in Commagene probably followed the fashion set by the Parthian monarchy. And at the same time its style and rhythm are, as J. Waldis has shown, an elaborate product of contemporary Greek rhetoric.⁴

7. We pass to our remaining Roman material. According to Appian, after the defeat of Sextus Pompeius in 36 B.C., when Octavian was twenty-eight, αὐτὸν αἱ πόλεις τοῖς σφετέροις θεοῖς συνίδρυνον;⁵ this may mean that he was given a place in the chief temples of Italian municipalities, or may rather be a vague phrase for "gave divine honours to Octavian" or "included his name in prayer formulas."⁶

The chief partnership in which we find an emperor is the well-

¹ Jalabert, I, no. 52.

² *Mithridat.*, 66, οἷόν τι καὶ ἐν Πασαργάδαις ἔστι τοῖς Περσῶν βασιλεῦσι θυσίας γένος, on which cf. L. R. Taylor, *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, XLVII, 58; W. W. Tarn, *ibid.*, XLVIII, 208.

³ E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, I, 87 ff.

⁴ *Sprache und Stil der grossen griechischen Inschrift vom Nemrud Dag in Kommagene* (Zürich, 1920).

⁵ *B. Civ.*, V, 132, § 546.

⁶ Wissowa, *Hermes*, LII, 101.

known *Romae et Augusto*, which we find throughout the Roman world.¹ In 29 B.C. Octavian allowed the Romans of the provinces of Asia and Bithynia to build temples to Roma and Divus Julius at Ephesus and Nicaea, and the Greeks to build temples *Romae et Augusto* in Pergamon and Nicomedia. The practice spread. Commonly it meant a new foundation which is from the beginning a combination, like the Nemrud Dagħ cult and the Zeus-Trajan cult at Pergamon and the temple of Tiberius, Livia, and the Senate at Smyrna.² In some places the cult of θεὰ Ῥώμη existed earlier: where this was so, Augustus was no doubt often included in it, as apparently at Smyrna:³ the cults might be kept separate, as for instance at Aperlae and at Termessus,⁴ or some new joint foundation as at Athens might replace the older cult of Rome or exist beside it.⁵

The combination of Roma and Augustus would find expression in two cult-images: so Josephus says of Caesarea: "In the middle there is a hill on which is a temple of Caesar which you see as you sail in, and there is a cult image (ἄγαλμα) of Rome and one of Caesar."⁶ The combination was a good one, associating as it did the person of the ruler with the personification of the city, and we see it emphasised on

¹ Dio Cass., LI, 20, 6. Fr. Richter in Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, IV, 136 ff.; Fr. Geiger, *Diss. phil. Hal.*, XXIII, i, 32 ff.: J. Toutain, *Cultes païens dans l'empire romain*, I, 19 ff.: L. R. Taylor, *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.*, LI; A. Stein, *Unters. z. Gesch. u. Verw. Ägyptens*, 27. Cf. A. von Premenstein, *Jahreshefte*, XVI, 268, for its transformation in time into the cult of the Imperial house.

² Tacitus, *Ann.*, IV, 15, 56.

³ Richter, *loc. cit.*, 138.

⁴ For Aperlae, p. 38, n. 4, *infra*. At Termessus we find ἀρχιερασάμενον τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, ἱερέα θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ Διονύσου διὰ βίου (*Inscr. gr. ad res Rom.*, III, 438), but we find there also ἱερεὺς θεᾶς Ῥώμης Σεβαστῆς καὶ Διὸς Σολυμέως διὰ βίου (442), suggesting that both combinations are merely due to individuals holding two priesthoods; it must be remarked that Ῥώμη had a certain aptitude for combinations (cf. an altar on Teos Διὸς Κτησίου Διὸς Καπετωλίου Ῥώμης Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος. *Corp. inscr. gr.* 3074; the *templum Vrbis* built by Hadrian in 121 for Roma and Venus, Platner-Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 552 ff.; each had a cella back to back; the ἱερεὺς Δήμου καὶ Χαρίτων καὶ Ῥώμης at Athens, Richter, 131, l. 47): an agon for Hecate and Roma at Stratonicea (*Or. gr. inscr. sel.*, 441, l. 131: probably 81 B.C.); a priest Ἑορίας Δήμου Ῥώμης on Delos (Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 383).

⁵ For details cf. Richter, 131, l. 44 (a priest of Rome at Athens towards end of second century B.C.), 139, on the temple of Roma and Augustus on the Acropolis.

⁶ *Antiq. Jud.*, XV, 339: *Bell. Jud.*, I, 414.

the bronze coinage of Lugdunum (ROM. ET AVG, with a representation of the famous altar).¹ Bronze coinage could be reckoned on to reach wide circles and so we find it used as a vehicle of propaganda. A similar combination was that of *Genius Augusti* with the *Lares* in each shrine at the *compita* or cross-roads in the city:² a *Genius* is particularly often combined with other deities in popular dedications.³

8. Votive *εἰκόνας* of Augustus in temples were no doubt numerous but are, as has been seen, not fully relevant to our theme.⁴ We may pass to certain sporadic individual combinations. First, it is quite likely that Augustus was at some time after his death given some share in the temple of Hercules at Tibur, in the halls of which he often administered the law.⁵ The evidence for this is that the local *magistri Herculanei* are by the middle of the century called *magistri Herculanei et Augustales* or *magistri Herculanei Augustales* (later abbreviated to *H. A.*), and that we learn of the existence of a *thesaurus Herculis et Augusti*.⁶ *Herculanei* are found also at Grumentum in Lucania.⁷ Secondly, D. M. Robinson has inferred that the temple he has excavated at Antioch in Pisidia was shared by Augustus and Men.⁸ We await the evidence, but may remark that, if this is so, it was a new joint foundation. Thirdly, an inscription at Bargylia under the reign of Titus mentions a priest of Artemis Kindyas and Augustus Caesar. The way in which this title is set side by side with that of high priest of Rome and Augustus, high priest of Titus, and Stephanephoros,

¹ H. Mattingly, *B. M. C. R. Emp.*, I, cxii.

² Ovid, *Fasti*, V, 145; Boehm, *Pauly-Wissowa*, XII, 811-812. L. R. Taylor, *Am. Journ. Arch.*, 2d Ser., XXV, 387 ff.

³ Bulhart, *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, VI, 1830.

⁴ P. 3, n. 2, *supra*; also *Inscr. gr. ad res Rom.* IV, 39 (in temple of Aphrodite at Mytilene).

⁵ Suetonius, *Aug.*, 72.

⁶ Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, 6236-6239, 6245. Note 6240-6241 of a man of the time of Tiberius, with the plain *mag. Hercul.* The *thesaurus* and the firmness of the double titulature make the meaning clear here. On the other hand the *magister Mercurialis et Augustalis* at Nola does not prove a joint cult of Mercury and Augustus: he may merely have combined the offices (K. Scott, *Hermes*, LXIII, 17, following R. M. Peterson). On the *Herculanei*, cf. A. von Premerstein in De Ruggiero, *Dizionario epigrafico*, I, 842; Ruggiero, *ibid.*, III, 679.

⁷ *Corp. inscr. lat.*, X, 230-231.

⁸ *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1924, 442.

suggests that it is *one* office and implies a joint cult.¹ Fourthly, there is an inscription of Augustus at Ephesus: *ex reditu Dianae fanum et Augustum muro muniendum curavit* (with a Greek translation). This has been thought to show that Augustus established a temple of Roma and himself in the precinct of Artemis.² It is certainly a notable fact that her funds paid for repairs: but it should be remembered that two distinct *τεμένη* or precincts can have a common wall and make a sacred enclosure like the Acropolis of Athens. This is not temple-sharing. Dio Cassius (LIX, 28) makes Caligula say that Ephesus had been appropriated by Artemis, Pergamon by Augustus, Smyrna by Tiberius. A striking temporary admission to a temple happened after the death of Augustus. While his own temple was being built, a golden representation (*εἰκών*) of him on a couch was set in the temple of Mars, and all observances paid to it which were later to be paid to his cult-image. It can hardly be doubted that the temple of Mars intended is that of Mars Ultor dedicated by Augustus in the Forum Augusteum in 2 B.C.³ What was done was analogous to the placing of the image of the Mother of the gods in the temple of Victory in 204 B.C. when her own temple was not yet built.⁴

Passing on, we note that Tryphaena, wife of king Cotys, dedicated at Cyzicus an image of Livia Augusta Nikephoros by the side of Athena Polias, and the Panathenaia there was described as celebrated for the Augusti and Polias Athena.⁵ Here there is no doubt that temple and cult were shared. Again, a seat in the theatre at Athens, inscribed (I. G. III 316) *ιεράς Ἑστί[ας] καὶ Λειβίας καὶ Ἰουλίας*, probably points to partnership though it may point to identification. On the other hand Riewald's inference from the description of Livilla, the wife of Drusus, as *Ἀφροδείτη Ἀγχεισιάς* on a pedestal at Ilium, meant to bear a statue of her mother Antonia, set up by one of Antonia's pro-

¹ Hauvette-Besnault and Dubois, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, V, 192 ff.

² *Inscriptions in the B. M.*, III, 522, discussed by V. Chapot, *Province d'Asie*, 425, and Ch. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros*, 664. It is referred to in a Vespasianic inscription (Hort, *Journ. Phil.*, VII, 145) as *ναὶ τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῶν Σεβαστῶν*. E. L. Hicks in his note on the first text discusses the area of the precinct.

³ Dio Cassius, LVI, 46, 4. On the significance of this temple for the Imperial house, cf. L. R. Taylor, *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.*, LI, 124 ff.

⁴ Livy 29, 14, 13.

⁵ *Inscr. gr. r. r.*, IV, 144.

tégés, that Livilla had a place in the old rites of the city seems to me most uncertain: the phrase was natural at the time and in the place.¹

A clear case of the introduction of a partner into a temple is the decision in A.D. 38 after Drusilla's death that her image (ἄγαλμα) should be set in the temple of Venus in the Forum, that this image should be of like size with that of the goddess and should receive similar honours, that a cella for her own use should be built, that her name should be used in women's oaths and that her birthday should be celebrated with a festival like the Megalesia: she was called Panthea καὶ τιμῶν δαιμονίων ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡξιούτο²; Caligula's lodging on the Capitol, "in order that, as he said, he might live with Zeus" — which reminds us of Demetrius — lies outside the main stream of development.³ Claudius shared a high priest with Dionysus at Aphrodisias: it is possible that temple-sharing is indicated.⁴

Nero's measures in 54 to meet the Eastern emergency evoked much enthusiasm, and the Senate voted him *supplicationes*, the right to wear triumphal dress, and an image within the temple of Mars Ultor of like size with the god, *praeter suetam adulationem laeti*.⁵ This is conspicuous as falling early in the famous *quinquennium* of good government, as in other records of temple-sharing the motive of gratitude is stressed. It is not asserted that cultus was offered to Nero in the temple of Mars, and, much as the image of equal size with the god's suggests cultus, it did not inevitably involve it: it was not necessarily in the cella. It must in any case be remembered that the cult was founded by Augustus in 2 B.C. and was very much a Julian family cult: and it may be added that there is no surviving numismatic commemoration of the honour. Under Nero we may note the dedication of a bath at Nymphaion Ἀπόλλων [ι - -] καὶ [Νέρωνι] Κλ[αυδίου Καίσαρι] Σεβαστῶ, where Νέρωνι was deleted after his memory was condemned: here the second dative is of the honorific type of which we

¹ *Ibid.*, 206. Riewald, p. 331. The text has acquired new interest from the connection of Drusus and Aphrodite in the Gythium text discussed, p. 57, n. 2, *infra*.

² Dio Cassius, LIX, 11.

³ *Ibid.*, 28, 2.

⁴ Lebas-Waddington, *Voyage Archéologique en Grèce et Asie Mineure, Explications des inscriptions*, V, 1621. ἀρχιερεὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ Διονύσου on the base of a statue. [This may of course be shorthand for ἀρχιερεὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἱερεὺς Διονύσου].

⁵ Tacitus, *Ann.*, XIII, 8.

must say more later.¹ This inscription is parallel to the dedication of an ἀλιπτήριον or room in which athletes might anoint themselves by the agoranomoi of Ceramus "to Trajan, the gods of Ceramus, and the people."² The sense is that of a gift intended to do honour; to the parallelism between this language and that of worship we shall return. Similar are the dedication of two *exedrai* and the roof of the colonnade at Iasos Ἀρτέμιδι Ἀστιάδι καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Μ. Αὐρηλίῳ Κωμμόδῳ Ἀντωνείνῳ Σεβαστῷ Γερμανικῷ Σαρματικῷ,³ and of some public building at *Selindenon katoikia* Θεοῖς πατρίοις κ(αὶ) Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Τίτῳ Αἰλίῳ Ἀδριανῷ Ἀντωνείνῳ Σεβαστῷ εὐσεβεῖ.⁴

For Hadrian we have some rather confusing evidence. In the Parthenon was set his εἰκών; it is mentioned by Pausanias just before an εἰκών of Iphicrates at the entrance.⁵ His image was established in the Olympieum at Athens which he completed: "ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς ἱδρύται," says Dio.⁶ In view of the frequency with which in popular dedications Hadrian is called Ὀλύμπιος, πανελλήνιος, Ἐλευθέριος,⁷ we might suppose that it was a cult-image of Hadrian which took a place in the cella and that it received worship: but Pausanias (I, 18) speaks only of four εἰκόνας of him before the sanctuary and a colossus of him behind the ναός. Dio speaks of the Panhellenion as σηκὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ: it is difficult to say whether one supposes a temple with cult-images of Zeus Panhellenios and Hadrian side by side or a temple with a cult-image of Zeus and a representation of the Emperor in a niche or, what is perhaps most probable, a temple with a cult-image of Zeus with Hadrian's features. It is however clear from *Inscr. Gr.*, III, 9, τοῖς θεοῖς τῷ τε Ἐλ[ευθερίῳ Διὶ καὶ Ἀδριανῷ] Καίσαρ[ι Σεβαστῷ Σωτῇ]ρι συνκαθ[ιδρῦσαι κολ]οσσικὴν εἰκόνα, that in one temple at Athens he

¹ J. Keil-A. von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine dritte Reise* (*Denkschr. Akad. Wien*, LVII, i), 7, no. 1. For the building of baths under the name of deities, cf. Lebas-Waddington, 33 (Smyrna), Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Σε[ράπιδος] Σεβαστῶν.

² E. L. Hicks, *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, XI, 123, no. 6.

³ Lebas-Waddington, 300 (not a joint temple, as has been said).

⁴ Keil-von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine Reise* (*Denkschr.*, LIII, ii), 13, no. 20.

⁵ I, 24, 7.

⁶ LXIX, 16, 1. On the dedications there made by the Greek cities cf. Weber, *Untersuchungen*, 271: Graindor, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, LI, 263.

⁷ Weber, 209739: ἱερέως Ἀδριανοῦ Ἐλευθεραῖως (*sic*) at Athens, but Ἐλευθεραῖως was added after his death and does not prove that the identification was official (*Inscr. Graecae*, III, 253).

had his own cult-image by the side of Zeus. A base was dedicated to Hadrian *and* Zeus Soter Olympios at Larisa in Lydia.¹ Commonly we find altars and dedications to Hadrian *as* Zeus Olympios Soter.² Hadrian is naturally included in the title of the actors' guild as a νέος Διόνυσος and in a decree at Ancyra they speak of their μυστικὸς ἀγών, or performance, as done for the Emperor and Dionysos (in that order).³

It is clear that Hadrian had a place in the Olympieum at Cyzicus, a building due largely to his generosity and completed considerably after his death. Socrates says that the Cyzicenes called Hadrian a thirteenth god:⁴ Malalas, that his colossal stele with his bust stele inscribed "Of the divine Hadrian" stood on the roof of the temple.⁵ It is possible that we should with Weinreich infer that on the gable he was represented as the thirteenth god enthroned among the twelve others, as we find an emperor of about the end of the third century in a Lycian relief.⁶ But *στήλη* properly implies a bust on a column — not that precision is to be expected of Malalas! In any case the temple was very closely associated with Hadrian: an anonymous Byzantine epigrammatist of about A.D. 500 includes "the blameless temple of king Hadrian" at Cyzicus among the wonders of the world.⁷ Once more the

¹ Keil-von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine dritte Reise*, 84.

² At Thyateira (Keil-von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine zweite Reise*, [*Denkschr.* LIV, 2] 19, no. 31); at Phocaea (Salac, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, LI, 388, no. 10); at Pergamon and Samos (Weber, 134 f.); at Perinthus, Mytilene, Miletus (Riewald, 332 f.); at Cyzicus (Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, 267). For his common description as Ὀλύμπιος, cf. Riewald, 335 f.

³ Weber, 123, 216: revised reading of the Ancyra decree by W. H. Buckler-J. Keil, *Journ. Rom. Stud.*, XVI, 245 ff. So also Antoninus Pius (Riewald, 322 f.). Cf. p. 21 f., *supra*.

⁴ *Historia ecclesiastica*, III, 21.

⁵ *Chronographia*, XI, p. 279. Dindorf. *στήσας ἐαυτῷ στήλην μαρμαρίνην στηθαρίου μεγάλου πάνυ ἐκεῖ εἰς τὴν ὁροφὴν τοῦ ναοῦ ἐν ᾧ ἐπιγράφει ΘΕΙΟΤ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΤ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἕως τῆς νῦν.*

⁶ *Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs* (*Sitzungsber. Heidelberger Akad.*, 1913, v). Cf. his *Triskaidekadische Studien*, 3 ff., for the placing of Constantine's sarcophagus in the midst of cenotaphs of the twelve apostles.

⁷ *Anthologia Palatina*, IX, 656, discussed by Weinreich, *Studien zu Martial*, 15 ff., and a prose list cited by B. Keil, *Hermes*, XXXII, 503. (Malalas says *ἕνα θῦνα τῶν θαυμάτων*.) That Hadrian's name appeared in an inscription on the temple is clear from Aristides, XVI (i, 391, Dindorf), *ἐπεγράψασθε μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἄριστον τῶν*

uncertainty is whether Hadrian was there as a partner or as identified with Zeus. At Cynaetha in Arcadia there stood in the market place altars of the gods and an *εἰκών* of Hadrian;¹ this may remind us of Attalus III but does not make Hadrian *σύμβωμος*.

On the whole, in view of Hadrian's liberality, the striking fact is that there is so little evidence for actual sharing of temples by him, and no evidence for his receiving cultus in temples completed before his accession.² Passing on, we find a sanctuary statue of Regilla, dedicated by her widowed husband Herodes Atticus, to Demeter and the dead Faustina senior, *Δηώ τε νέη Δηώ τε παλαιή*, in a shrine on the Appian Way probably founded in 143, as Wilamowitz suggests. Here again, as he argues, the shrine seems effectively to have belonged to Faustina. Regilla receives heroic honours, *οὐ μέγ γὰρ θνητῇ, ἀτὰρ οὐδὲ θέαινα τέτυκται*; the whole is placed under the protection of Athena and Nemesis.³ Under Commodus we find the *Διδύμεια* called *Κομμόδεια*; what this meant to the temple, if anything, is uncertain.⁴

An explicit instance of the admission of a ruler to an existing temple is the placing of Julia Domna in the Parthenon. An inscription, very well published by von Premerstein, preserves a decree of the Athenian people providing that, in view of Julia Domna's help to an Athenian envoy with a petition, (1) all the magistrates shall sacrifice to Agathe Tyche on her birthday and on entering office they shall sacrifice to Julia Augusta, Saviour of Athens, and to Athena Polias: (2) the

εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον βασιλέων. Unfortunately Aristides does not speak of the occupant or occupants of the temple.

¹ Paus. VIII, 19, 1.

² Mr. Mattingly has made to me the interesting suggestion that the various local deities (Aesculapius, Apollo, Bacchus, Ceres, Cybele, Diana Ephesia, Juppiter Labraundeus, Men, Minerva, Nemesis, the two Nemeses, Neptune, Proserpina, Roma, Venus) on the cistophori which he ascribes to the time immediately after Hadrian's death are placed there with reference to his relation with them and as propaganda for his deification (the coins in Mattingly-Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, II, 335, 398 ff.). They may well be a reminder of his travels and piety, and they may suggest the various gods and goddesses who will greet Hadrian in heaven: but there is nothing to make them point to earlier temple-sharing on earth.

³ Kaibel, *Epigrammata graeca*, 1046; Wilamowitz, *Sitzungsberichte preuss. Akad.*, 1928, 3 ff. l. 48 is the indication that the shrine is really Faustina's: *τοῦτο δὲ Φανστ-εῖνη κεχαρισμένον ἔσται ἄγαλμα*: note that Regilla has an *ἄγαλμα*.

⁴ *Corp. inscr. graec.*, 2882; add 2885c.

general in charge of the hoplites shall cause to be made an image of Julia and the Archon shall set it under the same roof as Polias, ἵνα σύνθρονος ᾗ: (3) the day on which the embassy was sent to the Emperor is to be kept holy: (4) the Archon is to make a sacrifice to Julia at the end of June, the care for this sacrifice resting on the priestess of Athena Polias and the dues falling to her share: (5) (the priestess) is to dedicate a golden image (ἄγαλμα) of Julia in the Parthenon: (6) the general is to offer a preliminary sacrifice to Agathe Tyche and the magistrates and all the priests and the heralds are to pour a libation. The priestesses and the Basilissa of the new year are to make their inaugural sacrifice to Athena Polias; the free maidens are to be present and there is to be an illumination dance and festival in order that the piety felt towards Julia Augusta, Saviour of Athens, may be manifest: (7) the decree is to be inscribed on a stele to be set by the altar of the Augusti.¹

Here we notice the actual sharing of both the temple of Athena, and, what is perhaps unique, the explicit provision for the sharing of a sacrifice. And once more it is an occasion of gratitude.

The possibility of Caracalla's having been worshipped in the temple earlier belonging to some deity of Pergamon has been already discussed (p. 24 f.): it is thinkable (but no more) that the third neocoria of Smyrna took the form of his being honoured in the temple of Roma, as Pick argues from a coin CMTPNAIΩN ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΑCΙΑC Γ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ showing temples marked TI, ΑΔ, ΡΩ.²

There is similar evidence of a somewhat disputable character for Elagabalus. At Nicomedia the third neocoria under him is celebrated by coinage showing three temples side by side; the central contains a female cult-image, possibly of Demeter, possibly of Tyche,³ and taken in conjunction with the fact that another coin showing a prize-urn names the games ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΑ,⁴ supports Pick's idea that Elagabalus was closely associated with the cult of Demeter, though, as

¹ *Jahreshefte*, XVI, 249 ff., a paper to which I am much indebted.

² *B. M. C. Ionia*, 288, nos. 404-406: *Jahreshefte*, VII, 21 ff.: the suggestion is regarded as possible by J. Keil, *Num. Zeit.*, XLVIII, 1301.

³ Pick, *loc. cit.*, 29, fig. 30: "Tyche?" Waddington Babelon-Reinach, *Rec. gén. monn. d'Asie mineure*, I, 552 (with pl. XCV, 22-23).

⁴ *Recueil*, I, 553, nos. 281-282, pl. XCV, 24 (settling the reading against the supposed ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΙΑΝΑ).

we shall see, association is particularly common in relation to games. When the third neocorate is revived under Valerian, the three-temple type recurs, again with a female cult-statue, this time agreed to be Demeter.¹ Demeter is, it should be remembered, the goddess of Ni-comedia on alliance coins and may therefore be regarded as the presiding deity of the city. A partnership at Philippopolis in Thrace is perhaps implied by a coin showing Apollo and the Emperor jointly holding a temple identified with the Apollo temple of the city.² The fourth neocoria of Ephesus under Elagabalus has been explained as referring to his admission to the temple of Artemis,³ but it is preferable to hold with Head and J. Keil⁴ that the fourth neocoria is obtained by reckoning in the city's position as *neocoros* of Artemis. Permission to call this a fourth neocoria might well be an extraordinary privilege due to the Emperor's devotion to the goddess, and such a privilege or devotion is perhaps reflected by the coin type, to which Pick rightly has drawn attention, on which a bust of Elagabalus faces the xoanon of Artemis on an agonistic urn.⁵ It would be thinkable that we have here to do with some sort of *ιερός γάμος*, like that which Elagabalus made between his Syrian deity and, first, the Palladium, which he took into his bedchamber, secondly, Juno Caelestis,⁶ or a brother and sister relation: Elagabalus appears as sun-god in a dedication by the *legatus* of Upper Germany at Mainz,⁷ and Artemis as the moon can be his sister. Any Elagabalus partnerships which there may have been would naturally not survive his death and the condemnation of his memory.

On some coins of Side struck under Gallienus and the younger

¹ Pick, 31, fig. 32. *Recueil*, I, 571, pl. XCVIII, 28. The dubious possibility of Elizabeth's worship in an existing Imperial temple at Perinthos is sufficiently answered by Pick, 34.

² Pick, 10, fig. 14, 38.

³ Pick, *Corolla Numismatica*, 242 f.

⁴ *Num. Zeit.*, XLVIII, 125 ff.

⁵ *Corolla*, 243. Ch. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros*, 356, has remarked on the sacrifice of a bull before an Imperial temple on coins of the time of Macrinus and referred to this as an instance of the association of the cults, but it means no more than that the Emperor or Empress get the same sacrifice as the leading local deity. A bull was the natural animal.

⁶ Von Domaszewski, *Abh. z. röm. Rel.*, 200.

⁷ Von Domaszewski, *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, XIV, 62, no. 129.

Valerian we have a representation of Apollo with the inscription ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΥ ΣΙΔΗΤΩΝ. Pick concludes that the Imperial cult was housed in the temple of Apollo.¹ It may be so, but in view of the existence of the same inscription under Saloninus,² and of ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΩ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩ ΣΙΔΗΤΩΝ under Aurelian, it may be that in each case the funds of the god in question defrayed the expenses of cultus, perhaps the Imperial cultus. If so, the application to the god of the term νεωκόρος is analogous to the conferring on him of civic office which we know particularly at Byzantium.³

9. We may now conclude this section by considering Sir William Ramsay's view that in Asia Minor the Emperor was σύνναος and σύμβωμος with local deities, and "that the Emperor and the native deity entered into intimate association; in many cases the two were actually identified and the Emperor was represented as the deity incarnate in human form."⁴ It has the authority of his great knowledge and has been accepted by other scholars, but it seems to me on the present evidence an exaggeration.

As for temple-sharing, we have considered it and have found a very few instances proved. Otherwise the view rests, (1) on the inclusion of Σεβαστά or Καισαρεία in the titles of festivals, to which we return later,⁵ (2) on combinations in votive offerings, which depend on private whims and in which there is a great tendency to pair the dative of worship and a dative of homage, (3), and this is most serious, on numerous priestly titles, such as "priest of Zeus and of the emperor." Now in some instances a joint cultus is or may be indicated by this

¹ *Loc. cit.*, 40.

² E. Babelon, *Inventaire Waddington*, no. 3508. These analogies are important in view of the suggestion of Babelon and J. P. Six, *Num. Chron.*, 1897, 205, that Apollo is in this instance identified with the Emperor; cf. *contra*, Pick, 4096.

³ Pick, *Num. Zeit.*, XXVII, 27 ff.: also at Pergamon, where Dionysos probably appears as a magistrate, and at Smyrna, Samothrace, and Argos (M. Fränkel, *Inscr. v. Pergamon*, II, 276): for Apollo as στεφανηφόρος at Miletus, cf. Stiet, *Pauly-Wissowa*, III A, 2345.

⁴ The quotation comes from *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, I, 54; on the idea also, *Journ. Rom. Stud.*, XII, 149, XIV, 178, XVI, 111; *Aberystwyth Studies*, IV, 1 ff., and in its support also, V. Chapot, *Province romaine d'Asie*, 426 f.

⁵ Page 59. The epithet *Augustus* or Σεβαστός applied to a god probably describes him as "the Emperor's god" (*ibid.*), though there may have been some confusion in practice.

when the collocation of titles points to a definite combination. But in the majority of instances it is not so. Thus, at Tralles we meet *ιερεὺς Τιβερίου Καίσαρος καὶ Ἑκάτης Σεβαστῆς τοὺς Ἑρμῆς ἀνέθηκεν*,¹ and at Phaselis *ιερατεύσαντα τῆς προκαθηγετίδος τῆς πόλεως Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάδος καὶ τῶν θεῶν Σεβαστῶν*.² Now in either case a joint priesthood, a joint cult, are possible: but in neither are they necessary and in both it is possible that the man held two separate priesthoods. This is confirmed by an inscription from Amyclae (S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, 369) *ιέρως κατὰ γένος Καρνείου Βοκέτα καὶ Καρνείου Δρομαίου καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Δωματεῖτα καὶ Ἰρακλέους γενάρχα καὶ Κόρας καὶ Τεμενίου τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἑλεὶ καὶ τῶν συνκαθειδρυμένων θεῶν ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις ἱεροῖς*, which proves that a variety of temples, some with multiple cultus, is indicated, and by another inscription from Amyclae (*ibid.*) mentioning a priestess of the same deities [*καὶ ἄλλων*] *θεῶν*, by a Coan inscription of the fourth century B.C. describing the installation of *ὁ ἱαρεὺς τ[οῦ] Ζηνὸς τοῦ Πολιέως καὶ τῶν Θεῶν τῶν Δυνώδεκα*, if we accept an almost certain restoration,³ compared with a later Coan inscription *ιερατεύσαντα Ἀπόλλωνος Δαλίου καὶ Διὸς Πολιέως καὶ Ἀθάνας καὶ Δυνώδεκα Θεῶν καὶ μοναρχήσαντα* (Paton-Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, 150, no. 125), whereby a combination or succession of priestly offices must be intended, and by two inscriptions from Lydae in Caria, the first describing one Leontomenes as *ιερατεύσαντα Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Διὸς καὶ Θεῶν Ἀγροτέρων καὶ Διοσκόρων καὶ Πανός*, the second said to be somewhat later, describing Theugenēs as *ιερατεύσαντα Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Διὸς καὶ Θεῶν Ἀγρέων* (E. L. Hicks, *J. H. S.*, X, 55 ff.). The second is a less ambitious combination: it is not that the *Kultikomplex* has shrunk. Accordingly, whether the Imperial priesthood is mentioned separately (as at Aperlae: *ιερατεύσαντα [Τιβερίου] Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ καὶ πρυτανεύσαντα γ' καὶ ιερατεύσαντα Ῥώμης καὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος*),⁴

¹ *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1886, 516.

² *Inscr. gr. ad res Rom.*, III, 764. Cf. *Or. inscr. gr.*, 2778 (Aphrodisias) *ιερέα γενόμενον θεᾶς Ἀφροδείτης καὶ θεῶν Σεβαστῶν*.

³ R. Herzog, *Heilige Gesetze von Kos*, 15.

⁴ Lebas-Waddington, 1290. So at Iasos, *ἀρχιερατεύσαντα τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ στεφανηφορήσαντα καὶ ιερατεύσαντα τῆς προκαθηγεμόνος Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀστιάδος* (E. L. Hicks, *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, IX, 339 f., with good note), at Lagina *ὁ καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν* (*Bull. Corr. Hell.*, XI, 155, no. 61, 2), at Assos a priest of Augustus *ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ θεοῦ καίσαρος, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ πάτριος βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὁμο-*

or together with other priesthoods, as in the cases considered, makes little difference.

A priest of Zeus Soter, Apollo, Men Askaenos, Agdestis, Agathos Daimon, Isis and Sebaste Eirene at Eumeneia, clearly filled in succession or at the same time all the important priesthoods of the city.¹ The accumulation of such offices was inevitable in any city which did not abound in rich men. A chief priesthood, such as that held by Xenophon of Cos, probably involved presiding over a number of temples:² so at Magnesia we find under Claudius a "scribe of the people and chief priest of the ancestral gods and of the Augusti," commonly called ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ γραμματεὺς.³ The νεωκόρος τῶν πατρίων θεῶν καὶ τοῦ κυρίου Ἀντοκράτορος on an inscription found near Antioch in Caria,⁴ the ἀρχιερεὺς θεῶν Σεβαστ[ῶν καὶ?] Διός at Amyclae,⁵ may be similar.

To sum up, there is really very little evidence in support of widespread temple-sharing. I do not for one moment deny the peculiarly strong position of the Emperor in Asia Minor, particularly on his own estates, or the alliance of the Emperor with local religion, and his association with its manifestations. Any and every sort of religious act, like any and every sort of secular foundation, might be made for his welfare,⁶ and his anniversaries would be kept in temples.⁷ But this does not imply temple-sharing or identification, any more than does

νῶον. (Sterrett, *Papers American Sch. Athens*, I, 35 f., where it is inadvisable to interpret Ὀμονῶον as "ayant même temple" with Chapot, *op. cit.*, 428: on it cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, 857f.).

¹ *Cities*, I, 246.

² Paton-Hicks, 224, no. 345 (= Ditt., *Syll.*,³ 804); cf. Brandis, *Pauly-Wissowa*, II, 471 f.

³ O. Kern, *Inscripfen von Magnesia*, 113 (= *Syll.*,³ 807); cf. Brandis, 482.

⁴ Sterrett, *Pap. Am. Sch.*, II, 9, no. 5.

⁵ Wide, *op. cit.*, 368. In *Corp. inscr. gr.*, 4379 i, a text found near Pednelissus is restored [ὁ δέϊνα ἀρχιερεὺς] Διός [καὶ τῶν Σεβαστ]στ[ῶν].

⁶ Cf. *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, XLV, 92.

⁷ So the priest of Hecate and the priestess of Artemis, ἐν Κωράζοις, who jointly held also the priesthood of Zeus Panamaros, gave a feast to the citizens on the Emperor's day and to all ages and conditions on Hecate's birthday (*Bull. Corr. Hell.*, XLIV, 85 ff.): the day called Σεβαστή in the twelfth month was the occasion of a festival in the temple of Artemis Soteira at Solmissus (Ch. Picard, *Rev. phil.*, 1913, 88).

the singing of a *Te Deum* on a monarch's recovery of health or the ecclesiastical commemoration of his accession. It may be that small townships did from motives of economy do such worship of the Emperor as they did in a great local temple: but, if this was so, it was rare, and local pride and municipal competitiveness militated greatly against it.

For identification, which is a different question but on which I would venture some remarks, there is evidence, though it clearly does not warrant generalisations. 'Ασκληπιὸς Καίσαρ on Cos is clear, for the composite figure has a priest.¹ 'Ιουλίᾳ Καίσαρος θυγατρὶ 'Αφροδί[τῃ] Γενετείρᾳ at Eresos on Lesbos belongs to an official identification, since it is inscribed on a block two metres long which must surely come from a temple:² the princess is identified with *Venus Genetrix*, the goddess of the *gens Julia*. To the titles of Augustus, Ζεὺς 'Ελευθέριος is officially added in Egypt, as we know from oath formulas.³ Now at Kys in Caria we find ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ ἀρχηγέτου τῆς πόλεως Διὸς 'Ελευθερίου:⁴ as Dittenberger says, the absence of a second τοῦ before ἀρχηγέτου looks like an identification. This may well be so, but it should be noted that in the course of the inscription we read, line 11, ἐπιτελέσας δὲ καὶ τὰς θυσίας τοῖς τε θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς Σεβαστοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ οἴκου αὐτῶν εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα διαμονῆς καὶ σωτηρίας. There is no real confusion of thought. At Alabanda we have the basis for a statue of Augustus with the inscription 'Απόλλωνος 'Ελευθερίου Σεβαστοῦ.⁵ This looks like a conflation of the two ideas of Augustus as Zeus Eleutherios and Augustus as closely associated with Apollo: but we cannot draw confident inferences as to official cultus at Alabanda. Of Hadrian as Zeus Olympios we have spoken.

These identifications are sporadic and they are, I think, characteristically Greek: the ruling personage is recognised as another form

¹ Paton-Hicks, 153, no. 130 (and 130, no. 92: dedication by Xenophon, who, as they suggest, may have founded the conjoint cult. Herzog, *Koische Forschungen*, 196, refers it to Nero).

² *Ath. Mitth.*, 1889, 260.

³ Fr. Blumenthal, *Arch. f. Pap.*, V, 329 f.; Rostovtzeff, *Rev. Hist.*, CLXIII, 16.

⁴ *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, XI, 307. Chapot, 427, thinks that Augustus and Zeus share a priest. Dittenberger discusses it in his note on the inscription next cited.

⁵ Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inscr. sel.*, 457.

of the particular deity, and this happens more often in private dedications, which are irresponsible, than in temple designations.

Further, such an attitude towards the Emperor is not the normal form of ruler-worship; it is something extra. At Ancyra we find Galba represented as Men on the reverse of a coin of the Koinon,¹ Caracalla likewise: but the Σεβαστέιον was no doubt the actual focus of loyal devotion.

I am not trying to deny the place which such identifications had, though it seems to me clear that many have been supposed on poor evidence.² But it is essential that we should understand that what

¹ He appears also *in propria persona* (as a bust) on the obverse (Perdrizet, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, XX, 73; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, II, 495, 1, pl. XIX, 7). Is the type an expression of particular loyalty, provoked by his union of Pamphylia with Galatia (Tac., *Hist.*, II, 9)?

² Ramsay quotes also the ἵππος βροτόπους of Nicaea, as indicating a fusion of the cult of Julius Caesar with Men or Sabazios (following Roscher's able but precarious conjecture); Livia and Tiberius at Tiberiopolis (*Hist. Geogr.*, 147: on what evidence does not appear); Agrippina on Lesbos as θεὰ Αἰολίς καρποφόρος, really a new divine title suggestive of Demeter; Caracalla as Men at Juliopolis (see *contra* Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.*, 495); the supposed position of the Emperor as θεός πατριος at Antiochia Pisidiae, *Journ. Rom. Stud.*, XIV, 179 (but if there is any fusion with the native cult it is in the fourth century A.D.; cf. J. G. C. Anderson, *Journ. Rom. Stud.*, III, 298 ff. Even then it does not appear to me to follow from the evidence adduced, namely, the establishment of a festival in honour of Maximianus by the high priest of Men, who was presumably a leading local citizen, or from the fact that the latter is now called ἀρχιερεύς and not ἱερεύς, for under Daia ἀρχιερεύς does not refer simply to the Imperial cult; cf. J. Maurice, *Numismatique Constantinienne*, III, xx ff.). Ramsay has, in *Journ. Rom. Stud.*, XII, 165 ff., interpreted in this way an inscription of Ancyra in honour of an Emperor whose name he restores as Trajan, while Domaszewski guessed Antoninus Pius. A number of men, possibly as Ramsay thinks the representatives of the koinon, dedicated a stele, the event being dated ἡγεμονεύοντος Π. Ἀλφίου Μαξιμί(ν), ἀρχιερωμένου Μ. Παπυρίου Μοντάνου, σεβαστοφανταύσης Κλ. Β(α)λβείνης νεωτέρας, ἱεροφαντοῦντος διὰ βίου Ἰουλίου Αἰλίου Ἰουλιανού: then come the names, then τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Κυρίου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τὸν τίτλον σὺν ταῖς γραφαῖς τοῖς ἱεουργοῖς Τι β. Κλ. Στρατόνεικος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέστησεν. Ramsay infers from what I have described as the dating that the Sebastophantissa has to do with "(municipal?) Mysteries of the Emperor" (but the term, though no doubt copied from ἱεροφάντης, as Fr. Geiger remarks, *Diss. phil. Pal.*, XXIII, i, 7, simply means *flaminica*); he holds that the ἱεουργοί are those performing the rites and argues that the rites are mystic from *Inscr. gr. ad res Rom.*, III, 209, ἀγῶν μυστικός (which refers to the *agon* of the Dionysiac artists, not to a celebration of the *Koinon*!) and that the γραφαί are "the writings containing

sounds like formal identification is often only a kind of association or comparison. The personalities of the divine world and the language of religion did in antiquity constitute a storehouse of metaphor on which men drew continually: and they not merely drew, as we do; but they allowed such ἔπεα πτερόεντα to crystallise. We speak of "an angel" or "a Daniel come to judgment," but we should not add these epithets to a man's name on a tombstone: they could. Identifying an emperor with a god was not mere verbiage, and yet it did not involve inevitable confusion of thought. Further, Augustus made a special impression and under him ruler-worship was in an experimental stage: so exceptional honours for him are not surprising. But even under him, as afterwards, the official cult of the ruler is something much simpler than the wide range of metaphor applicable to his person and quite distinct from it. There are exceptions, like Caligula, but what is desired or done officially remains sober: what is said or sung or suggested in art, what is stated in private dedications, belongs to another order.¹

10. The result of this analysis is as follows:

Incorporation

Theoi Adelphoi in life by 271 B.C. and their successors in the cult of Alexander at Alexandria.

Arsinoe II (posthumous) in all temples of Egypt in 270 B.C.

Ptolemy Euergetes, Berenice, and their daughter Berenice in all temples of Egypt in 239/8 B.C.

Ptolemy Philopator and Arsinoe in all temples of Egypt in 217 B.C.

Ptolemy Epiphanes in all temples of Egypt in 196 B.C.

Cleopatra, his wife, in all temples of Egypt in 185/4 B.C.

the acts and words needed in the ritual" (which cannot be believed; *γραφαί* is probably "lists" and could be "documents" or "pictures").

Picard's suggestion, *Éphèse et Claros*, 679, that at Mytilene certain mysteries were usurped by the Imperial religion is insecure. We read in *Inscr. gr. ad res Rom.*, IV, 116 of τῶ Σεβαστῶν μυστηρίῳ, but it is presumably, as Cagnat and Lafaye say *ad loc.*, a reference to the mysteries founded or refounded by Tiberius according to *ibid.* 71.

¹ Cf. my article in *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, XLVIII. There is no official reluctance to the suggestion of an assimilation to a deity by coin portraits representing rulers in the semblance of various deities.

Theoi Adelphoi, Arariathes V, and Emperors with Dionysus in titulature, Arariathes V in cult of actors' guild.

Attalus III in temple of Asclepius at Elaea (in lifetime): sacrifices, possibly *to him* on altars of Zeus Soter, Zeus Boulaios, Hestia Boulaia.

Julius Caesar in temple of Quirinus at Rome, 45 B.C. His statue in all temples at Rome and in (Italian) cities, 44 B.C.

Augustus (posthumous) in cult of Hercules at Tibur.

Augustus possibly in cult of Artemis Kindyas at Bargylia in Caria.

Livia (in lifetime) in temple of Athena Polias at Cyzicus.

Successors of Augustus in his temples at Alexandria, Philae, etc.

Livilla in temple of Athena Nikephoros at Pergamon, between A.D. 37 and 39.

Drusilla (posthumous) in temple of Venus in forum at Rome, A.D. 38.

Claudius possibly with Dionysus at Aphrodisias.

Nero in temple of Mars Ultor at Rome in A.D. 54.

Successors of Hadrian in his temple at Alexandria.

Julia Domna (in lifetime) in Parthenon.

Caracalla possibly in a temple of Asklepios at Pergamon.

New joint foundations

Ptolemy Soter and Philopatores with later modifications, at Ptolemais *ca.* 215–214 B.C.

Private temple of Berenice and Arsinoe Aphrodite in Fayum by 215–214 B.C.

Private temple of Syrian goddess and Aphrodite Berenice at Pelusium by 222 B.C.

Antiochus I of Commagene with Zeus Oromasdes, Mithras, Artagnes, and Commagene, not much earlier than 31 B.C.

Julius Caesar and Clementia at Rome in 44 B.C.

Roma and Divus Julius at Ephesus and Nicaea in 29 B.C.

Roma and Augustus at Pergamon and Nicomedia in 29 B.C. and *passim* later.

Tiberius Livia and the Senate at Smyrna in A.D. 26 (voted by province in A.D. 23).

Trajan (in lifetime) and Zeus Philios at Pergamon, existing by A.D. 113.

II

1. Earlier temple-sharing in Greece. — 2. The parallelism of honour and worship. — 3. The position of benefactors. — 4. The commitments involved in new cultus. — 5. Reasons for the rarity of temple-sharing. — 6. The association of rulers with religious festivals. — 7. Lysander at Samos. — 8. The emergence of ruler-worship in Greece.

1. WE may now proceed to consider the problems which arise out of this examination of evidence and in particular four points. First, the extent to which this usage grows out of earlier Greek religious practice; secondly, possible reasons why we do not find more examples of it; thirdly, certain instances of the association of rulers with gods in cults where actual temple-sharing is not involved; fourthly, certain general considerations bearing on the subject of ruler-cult as a whole.

To take the first point, we read in the epitaph on Annia Regilla in the shrine which she as a heroine shares with Demeter-Faustina à propos of the inclusion of other members of the family in time, "For indeed Athena set king Erichthonios in her temple that he might share in her rites."¹ A hero not infrequently has his place in the precinct of a deity; sometimes a share in sacrifice, like Pelops at Olympia.² To take a striking instance, before the sacrifice to Apollo at the Hyacinthia, a heroic offering was made to Hyacinthus through a bronze door of the great altar.³

In this way a hero is a god's partner. So also we find a god as partner with a god. Gods share not only a precinct⁴ but actually a tem-

¹ Kaibel, *Epigr. gr.*, 1046, 89 f., καὶ γὰρ Ἀθηναίη [ποτ'] Ἐριχθόνιον βασιλῆα | νηῶ ἐγκατέθηκε συνέστιον ἔμμεναι ἱρῶν. (Wilamowitz supplies περ after Jacobs). A significant parallel in historical times is the combination of Sophocles heroised as Dexion with Amynos and Asklepios [W. S. F.]: he had his own sanctuary, cf. F. Kutsch, *Attische Heilgötter und Heilheroen*, 12 ff.

² Pindar, *Olymp.*, I, 90 ff., νῦν δ' ἐν αἰμακουρίαις ἀγλαᾶσι μέμκται. The hero may be thought of as a servant in the temple (e.g., Phaethon in Hesiod, *Theog.*, 986; Heracles in the temple of Demeter at Mycalessus, Paus., IX, 19, 5, 27, 8). Cf. Milchhoefer, *Arch. Jahrb.*, II, 29, and in general Deneken in Roscher, *Lex.*, I, 2519, Eitrem, *Pauly-Wissowa*, VIII, 1130.

³ Paus., III, 19, 3; cf. Studniczka, *Jahreshefte*, VI, 123 ff.

⁴ I give in this note only a few examples. *Precinct.* At Athens the Erechtheum

ple,¹ or an altar, or an offering, or festival. And we find the altar of a god being used for an offering to another god or hero who is not even

is a combination of a sanctuary of Athena Polias, one of Erechtheus, and the Pandroseion, with altars also for the hero Butes, for Hephaestus, and one in front of the entry for Zeus Hypatos. At Amyclae we find a hereditary priest, Ποσιδῶνος Ἀσφαλίου, Ἀθηνᾶς χαλκιοίκου, Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάχου καὶ τῶν συνκαθειδρυμένων ἐν τῷ τεμένει θεῶν and another priest of various gods, καὶ τῶν συνκαθειδρυμένων θεῶν ἐν τοῖς προσεγεγραμμένοις ἱεροῖς (S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, 369). Famous combinations in the precinct at Eleusis, and in many precincts of Asklepios, occur to the mind: thus at Pergamon he, Hygieia, Telesphorus, each have a temple in their joint temenos, while at Titane the image of Hygieia stood in the temple of Asklepios (Paus., II, 11, 6): at Sicyon the precinct including the Asklepieion contained also a building the front part of which contained a head of Sleep, the inner part being dedicated to Apollo (Paus., II, 10, 2): at Sardis, Zeus Polieus and Artemis shared a precinct (the text speaks of οἱ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ τε Πολιεύς Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος οἰκοῦντες. Buckler-Robinson, *A. J. A.*, 1914, 329, l. 133, with notes p. 362): at Didyma a πάνθεος περιβωμισμός in which a new altar for Kore was put in the second or third century A.D. (O. Weinreich, *Arch. f. Rel.*, XVII, 524): at Patrae a temenos containing various temples (Paus., VII, 20, 9).

¹ *Temple*. So Zeus and Dione at Dodona (Strabo, VII, 7, 12, p. 329), Apollo and Asklepios at Pergamon (M. Fraenkel, *Inscr. v. Pergamon*, II, no. 290; dedicated by a freedman Diadumenus, end of first century A.D.; but we find Athena and Asklepios sharing at Astypalaea, P. Viereck, *Sermo Graecus*, 45, no. 21, l. 43). Apollo often shares a temple with Artemis and Leto, in Sparta with Artemis and the Eileithyiai, in Megalopolis with Hermes and the Muses (K. Wernicke, *Pauly-Wissowa*, II, 33 ff.). Athena and Hephaestus were both worshipped in the temple of Hephaestus in Athens (L. Malten, *ibid.*, VIII, 311). The oath-inscription of Itanus mentions θεοὺς ὅσοις ἐν Ἀθαναίᾳ θύεται (Ditt. *Syll.*,³ 526, 5: = 'in the temple of Athena'). Zeus Olympios and Aphrodite Olympia shared a round building in the Scias at Sparta ascribed to Epimenides (Paus., III, 12, 11). Zeus Syllanios and Athena Syllania shared a temple at Sparta (E. Maass, *Rhein. Mus.*, LXXVIII, 11). We find ναοὶ διπλοῖ, one of Ares and Aphrodite on the road from Argos to Mantinea (Paus., II, 25, 1), one of Asklepios and Lato with children at Mantinea (VIII, 9, 1). A late combination appears in the sanctuary of a society worshipping Silvanus at Philippi; in the rocky wall at the back are three niches, apparently for Liber, Mercury, and Hercules (*B. C. H.*, XLVI, 529): in a Roman milieu the example of the Capitoline triad may have been influential.

On Syrian combinations of deities in a single temple cf. F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, 201: on Sumerian antecedents S. Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, 45. Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 34 ff., mentions at Hierapolis a throne of Helios, xoana of Apollo, Atlas, Hermes, Eileithyia, Semiramis, ἀγάλματα of Helen, Hecabe, Andromache, Paris, Hector, Achilles, representations of Nereus, Philomela, Procne,

formally his partner, for we are told that there was in the Erechtheum an altar of Poseidon on which sacrifice was made also to Erechtheus in accordance with an oracle.¹ Again, we learn from an Epidaurian inscription that offerings were made to Lato and Artemis on Apollo's altar: the altar is expressly called Apollo's, so it is not formally a case

Tereus, an ἄγαλμα of Semiramis, one of Kombabos, one of Stratonice, one of Alexander, and a statue of Sardanapallus. (Clearly L. is not using ἄγαλμα in its technical sense.) The local type of temple with court afforded considerable possibilities of partnership. In this area, as in Egypt, the family group of related deities, two or three, is predominant. It is one dominant deity with a πάρεδρος and sometimes a minor third figure: cf. my note *ap.* K. E. Kirk, in A. E. J. Rawlinson, *Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation*, 178, and on Baalbek, H. Seyrig, *Litteris*, V, 165 ff. An interesting epithet is συμβαίτυλος, implying that a baetyl is shared (*Bull. Corr. Hell.*, XXVI, 181 ff.; *Suppl. epigr. gr.*, I, 508). Note also an old temple of Adonis and Aphrodite at Amathus (Paus. IX, 41, 3: cf. Studniczka, *Arch. Jahrb.*, XXVI, 152 f.).

Altar. E.g., Prometheus and Hephaestus (Apollodor. *ap.* Schol. in Soph. O. C. 56), Athena, Apollo, Artemis, Leto at Zoster, Paus., I, 31, 1. Zeus Ombrios and Zeus Apemios on Parnes (I, 32, 2), all the gods at Elis (V, 14, 4): altar at Cos, Ἥλιω καὶ θεοῖς τοῖς (σ)υνβώμοις, dedicated by a Phoenician (?), Paton-Hicks, *Inscr. of Cos*, 116, no. 64: Hypsistos and Helios-Mithras (?) at Sahin in Phoenicia, Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, II, 92, no. 5 (or is it identification?): τὸ συνβώμιον at Badinlar, Steinleitner, *Beichtl*, 59, no. 29: altar to Meter Artemis and Men Tiamou near Coula, *B. C. H.*, XX, 58. Altars can have definite parts for different deities, as at Oropus. Cf. in general E. Maurer, *De aris Graecorum pluribus deis in commune positis*; P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*,³ 15; Studniczka, *Jahreshefte*, VI, 159 ff.; [Strabo, XII, 3, 31, p. 557, is quoted as showing that Men and Selene were σὺμβωμοι at Cabira. But what S. says, ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῆς σελήνης τὸ ἱερόν, probably means this temple also is dedicated to the moon, here worshipped as Men. Real combination of Men and Demeter at Antioch in Pisidia does however probably follow from their joint priesthood, J. G. C. Anderson, *J. R. S.*, III, 272, 287 etc., though it may be noted that Men occurs alone six times, the combination three times]. Rome shares an altar with a god, possibly Zeus at Astypalaea (105 B.C.: P. Viereck, *Sermo Graecus*, 45, no. 21, l. 44). Anaitis, Omanus (= Vohumano: E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, II, 89) and Anadates at Zela, Strabo, XI, 8, 4, p. 512.

Festival. Cf. Aristoph., *Aves*, 866 (prayer to all gods): Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inscr. sel.*, 306, n. 2, for all gods: Nymphs and Apollo on Thasos, Seyrig, *B. C. H.*, LI, 1794, and Picard, *ibid.*, XLVII, 250: Nymphs, Poseidon, Apollo share festival of Dorian pentapolis on Triopion (Schol. in Theocr., 17, 69, p. 322, 2 Wendel).

¹ Paus. I, 26, 5.

of pure partnership.¹ These analogies from official worship are important as illustrating the possible sacrifice to Attalus III on the altars of Zeus Soter, Hestia Boulaia, and Zeus Boulaios discussed earlier (22 f.).

Most of these combinations of deities rest on their supposed relationship or on the fact of one being in some sense subordinated to another;² some are clearly due to the fact that one has superimposed himself on the cult of another. In any case temple-sharing and sacrifice-sharing existed, and it might well seem natural to extend them to rulers, particularly at a time when it was widely held that many heroes were rulers who had been given more than human honours after their death.

2. There is a second line of approach which is to a modern mind more strange. The dedication of an altar is commonly made in Greek by putting the name of the deity in the dative case. Now it was a very common practice to erect altars or make dedications on behalf of individuals. Thus, we have an altar dedicated by the people of Calymna and other residents, "praying to the god Apollo for the health and welfare of him who had benefited their country and each of them, C. Stertinius Xenophon, son of Heraclitus."³ Such an altar or votive offering is a dedication to the god but it is also in honour of the man named and may be regarded as in a sense a gift to him. Now when such a dedication is intended for the benefit or honour of a city or of an association of persons, we find *their* name freely put in the dative case, just like the name of the god to whom the dedication is made.

¹ Ditt., *Syll.*,³ 998: so to Apollo and Artemis on the altar of Artemis at Magnesia, *ibid.*, 589, 52.

² A significant dedication at Coula, *Μηνὶ Τυράννῳ καὶ Διὶ Ὁγμήνῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ θεοῖς* (*Journ. Hell. Stud.*, X, 227): and an interesting philosophic speculation in Sallustius *Περὶ θεῶν καὶ κόσμου*, 6, p. 12, 13; *τούτων δὲ πρῶτως ἐχόντων τὸν κόσμον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν τούτοις ἡγῆτέον εἶναι θεούς, οἷον Διόνυσον μὲν ἐν Διὶ, Ἀσκληπιὸν δὲ ἐν Ἀπόλλωνι, Χάριτας δὲ ἐν Ἀφροδίτῃ.*

³ R. Herzog, *Koische Forschungen und Funde*, 198. For the custom of so inscribing altars cf. Paton-Hicks, *Inscr.*, 73, no. 36, d, 20. *ἀδικῶν τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τοὺς προγόνους ὑπὲρ ὧν γέγραπται ἐν τῷ βωμῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ στηλῇ*, Roehl, *Inscriptiones graecae antiquissimae*, 314 (*escharai* put up for Athena and Hera *ὡς καὶ κείνος ἔχει κλέφος ἄφθιτον*); Herzog, *K. F.*, 63; Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inscr. sel.*, 55, altar to Zeus Soter for Ptolemy III, etc.

Thus, we find on Cos a temple and image "To Concord and the people,"¹ and a temple "To Asklepios and the people,"² an altar on Delos "To Antioch, the mother-city, in accordance with a command to Apollo,"³ a representation of Asclepius and Hygieia on Samos "To Samian Hera and the Emperor Nerva and the Samian people,"⁴ a Mysian pillar "To Zeus Hypsistos and the district,"⁵ columns in the temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias "To the goddess Aphrodite and the demos."⁶ We can again have a single dative of the human recipients: "Egnatia Secunda has dedicated Pan to the demos of Hippio-tae,"⁷ and it is possible to speak of piety (εὐσέβεια) to the gods and to the demesmen,⁸ though elsewhere a distinction is made.⁹

Now it is familiar that the people of a city (like the Roman Senate) can be personified as an object of worship: we know from inscriptions of the second century B.C. a priest of the Demos and of the Charites at Athens, serving a temple probably near the Theseum,¹⁰ and from

¹ Paton-Hicks, 115, no. 61.

² Paton-Hicks, 263, no. 371: also a clock "To Agathe Tyche and to Agathos Daimon and to the people," *ibid.*, 112, no. 57 (= Herzog, *K. F.*, 137).

³ J. Hatzfeld, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, XXXVI, 212, Λεύκιος Γράνιος Ποπλίου Ῥωμαῖος Ἀντιοχεία τῇ μητροπόλει κατὰ πρόσταγμα Ἀπόλλωνι.

⁴ *Inscr. gr. ad res Rom.*, IV, 965: cf. V. Chapot, *Province romaine d'Asie*, 421 f.

⁵ Perdrizet, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, XXIII, 592.

⁶ Lebas-Waddington, 589-591, the first emanating from the priests. Cf. Ditt. *Syll.*,³ 631 (182 B.C.), ἀνέθηκε . . . τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ πόλει τῶ Δελφῶν, and Josephus, *B. J.*, I, 414 (of Herod's foundation of Caesarea), ἀνέθηκεν δὲ τῇ μὲν ἐπαρχίᾳ τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς ταύτῃ δὲ πλοῦσι τοῖς τὸν λιμένα, Καίσαρι δὲ τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ κτίσματος: also *Corp. inscr. gr.*, 2264 c (Aegiale on Amorgos) Κριτόλαος Ἀλκιμέδοντος τὸν ναὸν θεοῖς καὶ τῷ δήμῳ.

⁷ Paton-Hicks, 231, no. 261.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 270, no. 382.

⁹ E.g., Ditt., *Syll.*,³ 662 (Athenian cleruchs on Delos, 165-164 B.C., in honour of Amphi-les, the poet), τὸ μέλος ᾄδειν . . . ἀξίως τῆς τε τῶν θεῶν τιμῆς καὶ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων δήμου . . . ἐπαινέσαι ἐπὶ τε τῇ εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ τῇ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων εὐνοίᾳ. But F. Durrbach, *Choix d'Inscriptions de Délos*, I, 139, no. 84 (146/5 B.C.), l. 10, ὕμνησεν τὸν τε ἀρχηγέτην Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν νῆσον καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων (where the text breaks off).

¹⁰ Homolle, *B. C. H.*, XV, 344 ff. The long decrees here found are in honour of public benefactors. We may note the Amphictyonic glorification of the Athenian demos in 117 B.C. (*Syll.*,³ 704 E, 10 ff.), in language similar to that later applied to Augustus and discussed by me, *Early Gentile Christianity*, 89 f.: cf. *Or. gr. inscr. sel.*, 194 (42 B.C. for one Callimachus at Thebes in Egypt), and *Syll.*,³ 700 (Lete: 117 B.C.).

an inscription assigned to the first century B.C. a priest of the Demos at Magnesia on the Maeander.¹ In some dedications we may therefore think of this pairing of datives as referring to such a definite divine entity: it is so clearly in a sacred ordinance on Cos providing for sacrifice to Poseidon, Cos, and Rhodos: here we are dealing with personifications or divine founders.² They were readily called into being by the popular imagination. Such an explanation will not however cover most of the ground, for we find similar combinations of datives with other human associations as the second dative: as for instance, at Pergamon an altar, *Διονύσω καθηγεμόνι καὶ τῇ Μίδαπαιδευτῶν σπείρῃ*,³ and, to come westwards, a dedication by three men at Tibur, *cultoribus domus diuinae et Fortunae Aug. Lares Augustos d. d.*,⁴ another at Rome early in the second century A.D., *Ioui optimo maximo caelestino fontibus et Mineruae et collegio sanctissimo quod consistit in praedis Larci Macedonis*;⁵ and we have the dative of the human recipient alone on a square base at Rome, *posuit sibi collegisque suis et futuris*.⁶ The deity honoured is also naturally coupled with the *Genius* of the person or community in question, sometimes without *et*: so for instance, *Herculi inuicto sacr. genio num eq sing. Augg. nn. pro salute imp̄p̄. . .*.⁷

We have here the background for the numerous dedications coupling

¹ O. Kern, *Inscripfen von Magnesia*, 137, no. 208: cf. *Or. gr. inscr. sel.*, 551, τὴν 'Ρώμην Διὶ Καπετωλῷ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ 'Ρωμαίων.

² Ziehen, *Leges graecorum sacrae*, II, 338 ff., no. 137: Ditt., *Syll.*,³ 1000. (Ziehen and Herzog date in the earlier part of the second century B.C., Ziebarth in the first.) Something of this feeling for the numinous aspect of cities perhaps appears in the regular ascription of heroic honours to oecists: they had in a sense called a super-human thing into being.

³ *Inscr. v. Pergamon*, II, no. 319, with Fraenkel's note, p. 235.

⁴ Dessau, *Inscr. lat. sel.*, 6242.

⁵ Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, II, 174, no. 554. Cf. Heberdey-Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien* (*Denkschr. Wien Akad.*, XLIV, vi), 104, no. 183, Διονύσω Ἀρχεβάκχῳ καὶ τοῖς μύσταις Ἀθηναῖος Χαρείνου ἐπὶ ἱερῶς Σωπάτρου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου; *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, XIV, 34, no. 48, *Deo Marti militiae potenti in honorem leg(ionis) III Augustae Valerianae*, a dedication by a *primus pilus* at Lambaesis in A.D. 253.

⁶ *Corp. inscr. lat.*, VI, 2961; *ibid.*, 252 *genio Imp̄. . . collegio d. d.*; a relief explained by L. Deubner, *Arch. Jahrb.*, XLIV, 132 ff., is inscribed, *L. Oppius Maximus sacerdos M(atris)d(eum) dendrophoris et dumopiretis d. d.*

⁷ Bulhart, *Corp. inscr. lat.*, VI, 226.

a god and an emperor, Διὶ καὶ Σεβαστῷ Καίσαρι,¹ Διὶ καὶ τοῖς κυρίοις,² and the like, or god, emperor, and country.³ In the West this combination was stereotyped in the phrase *i(n) h(onorem) d(omus) d(iuinae)*: in West and East alike all and any acts religious or secular can be described as done for the Emperor's welfare or in his honor,⁴ and *i h d d* can be coupled with *pro salute*.⁵ It may perhaps be asked whether we have not in the dedication of churches, as, for instance, the early Roman basilicas to martyrs and later to other saints, something facilitated by this familiar practice of double ascription. The church is God's and the martyr's, in different ways.

The essential point which emerges is the ease with which an ancient could put what we should call human honours and what we should call divine honours on a level without any inevitable mental confusion between the objects of each or the categories to which those objects belonged. Our distinction between worship and homage, *Kultus* and *Ehrung*, did not exist with anything like comparable sharpness in antiquity. Τιμή covers both⁶ and the dative covers both,⁷ just as in

¹ E.g., at Bria, *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, XVII, 416.

² Altar at Aezani (Lebas-Waddington, 851).

³ E.g., an altar at Acmonia on which Dionysus is combined with Severus Alexander and his house and ἡ πατρίς (Ramsay, *Cities*, I, ii, 645, no. 547): similar dedication to Dionysus Meinoetes, the country, and Commodus at Minoa on Amorgos (*Corp. inscr. gr.*, 2264 m).

⁴ *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, XLV, 92.

⁵ *Westd. Zeit.*, XIV, 35, no. 50 (for Diocletian and colleagues); 63, no. 132 (for Severus Alexander); both at Bonn.

⁶ E.g., Ditt., *Syll.*,³ 704 E, 24, τὰ νόμιμα καὶ πάτρια τῶν τε θεῶν [καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν] τεχνιτῶν τίμια. For honour to gods cf. Isyllus (Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, 135), τιμῶν τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν, [Verg.] *Priap.*, III, 17, *pro quis honoribus*. Its religious nuance comes out in its use of honour conferred by gods on men, as in Hesiod, *Theog.*, 418, discussed by Fr. Pfister, *Philol.*, LXXXIV, in inscriptions relating to Hecate's favourites, *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, XLV, 100; priestess of hers at Lagina, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, XLIV, 82, no. 144, ἥν Ἑκάτη στέψασα βροτῶν τέλεισε μάλιστα (cf. 15, 4): Buckler-Calder-Cox, *Journ. Rom. Stud.*, XV, 154, no. 140, have restored ἱερέα [τιμηθέντα] ὑπὸ Διός: Chryses honoured by Apollo, *Il.*, I, 454: a Vestal virgin *Carm. lat. epigr.*, 1920 (cf. my forthcoming note in *Harv. Theol. Rev.*): Artemidorus II, 9, p. 93, 24 (Hercher) on those killed by thunder, προσίασιν αὐτοῖς ὡς ὑπὸ Διὸς τετιμημένοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι.

⁷ A comparable combination of datives appears in the Phrygian epitaphs in which both the god under whose protection the tomb is placed and the human

the phraseology connected with the drinking of toasts the genitive serves for god or king or mistress, Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος or Δημητρίου or Γλυκέρας.¹ It is as though we drank not to *Church and King* but to *God and King*. This principle has no little general importance. Thus it explains, I think, the curious phenomenon which we meet in ancient ritual which is called the worship of cult-instruments:² they are by their employment hallowed and deserving of respect, and the only way of expressing that respect is in cultual forms. Προσκύνησις again is used for men of position *and* for gods.³

From this point of view we understand the confusion of thought and cases in a rock inscription near Larnaka Lapethu in Cyprus, Ἀθηνᾶ Σωτείρα Νίκη καὶ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου Πραξίδημος Σέσμαος τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέθηκεν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. The altar belonging to Ptolemy or erected on his behalf is awkwardly associated both with him and with the goddess to whom it is dedicated.⁴ Later, we find dedications to Ptolemies and gods,⁵ to Hermes Heracles and Antiochus the Great at Soli

being for whom it is made or intended figure in that case (e.g., *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, XIX, 91, n. 72: Θεοῖς καταχθονί(οις) καὶ Αἰλ. Συμφερούση τῇ σώφρονι; 127: κατὰ ἐπιταγὴν Διὸς εὐχὴν κέ ἐαυτῷ ζῶν etc. I see no reason for holding with Ramsay (*C. B.*, I, 99 ff., ii, 367) that such phrases imply the merging of the dead man in the deity.

¹ W. W. Tarn, *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, XLVIII, 211 ff.: for lovers, Callim., *Ep.*, 29, 1, Theocr., 14, 19: material in K. Scott, *Am. Journ. Phil.*, XLIX, 152.

² The sacrifice to *ollae* of Arval brothers: wreathing of mill-stones (Rose, *Journ. Rom. Stud.*, III, 236): sacrifice to stone mortar, iron mortar, and baresman (*Sacred Books of the East*, XXXI, 385), and M. P. Nilsson's explanation of the sacred character of the double axe (*Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, 194). We find the same psychology in Catholic ceremonial, e.g., the censuring of the Gospel book and of the altar, the kissing of the incense spoon, the *Ave sanctum chrisma* said to consecrated oil and genuflexion to it on Maundy Thursday.

³ Note that in Persia it was practised not only to the king but to social superiors (Herodotus, I, 134), and that it was used towards kings in Judaea (E. Eichmann, *Sitzungsber. bayerischen Akad.*, 1928, vi, 8): note also the free metaphorical use of προσκυνῶ.

⁴ *Or. gr. inscr. sel.*, 17. The accompanying Phoenician text, translated *Anatae robori uilae et domino regum Ptolemaeo Baalsillemus filius* [Ses]maci consecrauit altare Fortunae bonae (*C. inscr. sem.*, I, 114, no. 95) is probably based on the Greek (de Vogüé, *Jour. Asiat.*, 1867, 120; the placing of *F. b.* looks a clear indication). For the genitive, cf. Aristotle's elegy to Eudemos (Diehl, *Anthologia lyrica*, I, 99) l. 2, σεμνῆς φίλης ἰδρύσατο βωμὸν ἀνδρὸς κτλ.

⁵ *Or. gr. inscr. sel.*, 62 (Ptolemy [III], Berenice, Isis, Sarapis, Harpocrates: at Philae), 63 (Sarapis, Ptolemy [III], Berenice: on Cyprus), 82 (Ptolemy [IV], Arsinoe,

(probably from a gymnasium),¹ and to Ptolemy Hermes and Heracles in a gymnasium at Samos.²

3. One form of correlation of human and divine honours is particularly associated with the expression of gratitude, and this is important to us since inscriptions recording the admission of a ruler to a temple generally emphasise the motive of gratitude.³ A civic benefactor commonly received a statue, or the right to procure one, in some public place. The benefactor of a religious body, or, for the matter of that, of the city since it had a proprietary right in public temples, might have such a representation in a temple. Thus, the worshippers of Dionysus at Piraeus in 176-175 B.C. put up an image of the dead priest, who had built the temple, next to the cult-image, "that he may have the fairest memorial for all time."⁴ For a city it meant no more to set up a representation in a temple than in the market place. Thus, we have a decree of Erythrae in 357-355 B.C. ordering that a bronze statue of Mausollus be placed in the market place, a stone one of Artemisia in the temple of Athena, and that Mausollus was certainly not less honoured than Artemisia appears from the fact that he was to have a wreath worth fifty darics, she a wreath worth thirty darics.⁵ In fact, representations of dead persons

Sarapis, Isis: at Edfu), 46 (a stoa for Apollo and Ptolemy II or III at Halicarnassus). Mr. Tarn has drawn my attention to *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, XVIII, 416, 'Ἀλκαῖος Ἡρακλείδου Σαράπιδι Ἰσιδι βασιλεῖ Φιλίππῳ (base at Amphipolis for Philip V).

¹ *Or. gr. inscr. sel.*, 230.

² E. Preuner, *Ath. Mitth.*, XXVIII, 358 ff.

³ E.g., *Or. gr. inscr. sel.*, 90, 34 (Ptolemy V), Attalus III, Julia Domna. Cf. Plut., *Flaminin.* 16 (at Chalcis), ὁ δῆμος τίτω καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ τὸ γυμνάσιον and ὁ δῆμος τίτω καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι τὸ Δελφίνιον: of course he has at Chalcis his own cult and priest: an altar at Bonn dedicated *sospiti Concordiae, Granno, Camenis, Martis et Pacis Lari, quin et deorum stirpe genito Caesari* ("hardly before A.D. 170," A. Riese, *Das rheinische Germanien in den antiken Inschriften*, no. 370).

⁴ Ditt., *Syll.*,³ 1101: cf. *Inscr. Graecae*, II², 1334, telling us how the *orgeones* of the Mother of the gods set a representation of the living priestess of the previous year in the cella in 2d cent. B.C.: *Syll.*,³ 1102 in B.C. 175/4 they allow Chaireas to set up his *εἰκὼν* in the temple; *I. G.*, II¹, 1386, representation of priestess in temple of Athena Polias.

⁵ *Syll.*,³ 168. So the Harpagid monument at Xanthos, dedicated to the twelve gods, is set "in the pure precinct of the marketplace" (O. Benndorf, *Jahreshefte*, III, 98 ff., dating it in the second half of the fifth century. For relevant Lycian ideas on the status of the dead, cf. W. Arkwright, *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, XXXI, 2708.

who were not benefactors were sometimes allowed in temples or precincts.¹

A benefactor's statue might stand in a temple, even in the cella.² Ancient feeling permitted also the step of sacrificing to benefactors: this does not imply the existence of such a statue so placed. We find that at Athens in 100/99 B.C. they sacrificed to the gods and to the benefactors of the people, and in a number of instances we see benefactors, *εὐεργέται*, viewed as a category, who received honours appropriate to deity without being specifically deified.³ When the

The Nereid monument is a tomb in temple shape; D. S. Robertson, *Architecture*, 135).

¹ Kaibel, *Epigr. gr.*, 875 (second century A.D.) records permission by the Council of Sinope, given out of respect for a maiden's father, for her image to be set up "near pure Sarapis," *γείτων Τειτιανῇ καθαροῦ Σαράπιδος* (perhaps the choice of god is to be explained from the original underworld 'Sarapis' of Sinope, on whom cf. Rostovtzeff's views summarised by O. Weinreich, *Neue Urkunden zur Sarapisreligion*, 7). G. Sotiriades 'Αρχ. Δελτ., I, 58, publishes an inscription from Thermos (to be dated, as Dr. A. B. Cook kindly informs me, *circa* 400 B.C.), relating to a memorial bronze statue of a son set by the tripod of Apollo, *ὅς σε καὶ ἐν φθιμένοισιν ἔδοντ' ἐς φέγγος ἀνάξει*, | *φθιτῶν ὡς ἀγαθῶν οὐκ ἀπόλῳλ' ἀρετά*. He had been killed fighting for his country, which may have helped.

The practice of setting up private memorials of individual dead on the Acropolis, which we find at least from the beginning of the fourth century B.C., is kindred (U. Köhler, *Hermes*, XXXI, 152: the early Korai are very possibly offerings suitable to a maiden deity rather than representations of individuals; cf. G. Dickins, *Cat. Acrop. Mus.*, I, 32 f.). The practice of erecting statues of victorious athletes in the Altis at Olympia, presumably in origin votive, may have encouraged the spread of the custom: on their meaning, cf. W. W. Hyde, *Olympic Victor Monuments*, 37 ff.

For the need of authorisations of votive offerings, cf. Lucian, *pro imaginibus*, 11: for the private desire of benefactors to perpetuate their memory, cf. the wall-paintings in the temple of the Palmyrene gods at Doura.

² So also that erected by public subscription for Antonius Musa, *statuam aere conlato iuxta signum Aesculapi*, after his cure of Augustus (Suet., *Aug.*, 59).

³ Ditt., *Syll.*,³ 717, 32 (the benefactors may be the Romans). Cf. *ibid.*, 705, 45 (112 B.C.), of the actors' guild: sacrifices and libations *τῷ τε Διονύσῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς εὐεργέταις Πρωμαλοῖς*. But these honours are given generally: cf. *Inscr. Gr.*, II¹, 471 = ² 1006, *ἔθυσεν δὲ καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις οἷσιν προσῆκον ἦν*, and the decree at Lete in Macedonia in 117 B.C. (*Syll.*,³ 700, 32) that a horse race in honour of M. Annius, the quaestor, should take place in the month of Daisios every year *ὅταν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐεργέταις οἱ ἀγῶνες ἐπιτελῶνται* (preceded by a glorification in the style discussed p. 48, n. 10, *supra*). For benefactors as a category, cf. *Syll.*,³ 167: Mylasa: (361-360 B.C.), *ἀδικεῖν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἀναθῆματα - - καὶ τοὺς εὐεργέτας τῆς*

benefactor's statue stands in the temple it is called *εἰκών*, not *ἄγαλμα*, but the former created a precedent from which the latter could develop. In this attitude towards human benefactors and others whom it was desired to honour, we see a line of thought which might prepare the way for temple-sharing.

4. There is one more point to bear in mind also. The worship of a man recognised in, or after, his lifetime as more than human required normally a temple or precinct and regular offerings; commonly also a priest.¹ And when a city had done or authorised these things, it had committed itself to the cultus indefinitely. There are familiar instances of the discontinuing or transference of heroic honours, but they are exceptions. On the other hand, it was clearly possible to terminate temple-sharing, and several of the instances in my list were transitory.

5. Why then is there so little temple-sharing? Ptolemaic Egypt is a special case: otherwise the list is short and would remain relatively so even if some of the instances here rejected prove sound.

We may begin by recalling that the honour comes naturally from the ruled and not from the ruler.² It could not be otherwise in Greek cities, which had definite rights over their divine things.³ A ruler can,

πόλεως, à propos of people who have committed a lawless act against the *εἰκών* of Hecatomnus: *Syll.*,³ 1099 (decree of Attic thiasotae, 278–277 B.C.): Diod. Sic., XX, 93, 6. (A seat in the theatre at Athens was inscribed *Διογένους Εὐεργέτου*: he has his own priest, *Syll.*,³ 497, n. 5).

This is genuine Greek feeling: cf. the speech of Danaus in Aesch., *Supp.*, 980, *ὦ παῖδες, Ἀργείοισιν εὐχεσθαι χρεών, θύειν τε λείβειν θ' ὡς θεοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις σπονδάς, ἐπεὶ σωτῆρες οὐ διχορρόπως*; the remark of Odysseus to Nausicaa, *Odyss.*, VIII, 467; *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, XLVIII, 31; A. S. F. Gow, *ibid.*, 136 on *θεὸς Περσῶν*; Heliodorus, *Aeth.*, IV, 7, p. 104, 28 (Bekker), *τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ σωτήρα καὶ θεόν*; Preisendanz, *Papyri gr. mag.* I, 6, no. 1, 88, *ἕξω φίλον σε πάρεδρον εὐεργέτην θεὸν ὑπηρετοῦντά μοι*.

¹ It is of course possible for a person in authority to do sacrifices, e.g., kings in Homer (D. Mulder, *Rhein. Mus.*, LXXVIII, 49 f.), and later *οἱ αἱ ἐπιμνηνέοντες*, Paton-Hicks, 64, no. 35, and a Chian *lex sacra* in *Syll.*,³ 1013 (fourth century B.C.), line 10, *ἐὰν δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς μὴ παρῇ, προιεργητέτω τις ὧν αἱ λόγχοι εἰσὶν, τὰ δὲ γινόμενα ἀποδιδόναι τὸν θύοντα τῷ ἱερεῖ*, discussed by P. Stengel, *Hermes*, XLVIII, 634 f.: cf. Deneken in Roscher, *Lex.*, I, 2516.

² The exception of Arsinoë on the Mendes stele has been explained, p. 15, *supra*.

³ Note Lebas-Waddington, 382 (a Cretan city allows Mylasa πάντων ἡμῖν μετέχειν θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων) and the coin-types on which the personified city or city-goddess holds a temple (B. Pick, *Jahresh.*, VII, 13). It is interesting that the priest

like Antiochus I of Commagene, found a new conjoint cult, but he does not intrude himself on a civic temple, and this principle holds in spite of the interferences which the Attalids permit themselves.¹ But of course the honours which come from the ruled will in general be such as are likely to prove acceptable to the ruler. Thus, for instance, as K. Scott has shown, Augustus never seems to be called νέος Διόνυσος or assimilated to Dionysus, for the very good reason that he had ridiculed Antony's pretensions to that honour.² On this point the official attitude must have been plain and unconcealed. (On the whole, Rome, while regulating provincial cults, did not necessarily take any cognisance of civic cultus and did not as a rule object to an exaggerated homage unless attention was officially called to it.³)

speaking to Oedipus in Soph., *Ο.Τ.*, 16, of the city's altars, says βωμοῖσι τοῖς σοῖς: at the opening of the play Oedipus is magnified as much as possible. For the drastic Roman legal view of the state's absolute rights of property in temples, cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*,³ II, 60.

[Alternatively the gods hold the city, as Ditt., *Syll.*,³ 704 E, 29, τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τῶν κατεχόντων τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἀθηναίων, or territory, as Thuc. II, 74.]

¹ For these, cf. M. Rostovtzeff in *Anatolian Studies*, 384 ff. In the story discussed, p. 4, *supra*, Antony is said to have made a tyrannical use of the Athenian invitation: but he had an invitation. Antiochus IV of Syria *se simulabat Hierapoli Dianam ducere uxorem* (Granius Licinianus, 28); the legalities of the case are unknown.

² *Class. Phil.*, XXIV, 139. So also the fact that Tiberius has no divine epithets in an inscription at Ilium Novum in which Antonia's daughter is θεὰ Ἀφροδίτη Ἀρχεσιάς (Lebas-Waddington, 1039) may be due to knowledge of his dislike of divinity.

³ At Ephesus the proconsul's approval of the new festival for the birthday of Antoninus Pius is recorded, perhaps in view of the special expenses incurred (V. Chapot, *Province*, 393: *ibid.*, 439, for the thesis of local independence).

Suetonius, *Tib.*, 26, records a vigorous prohibition by Tiberius of temples, *flamines*, priests, and statues except with his permission and then *ea sola condicione ne inter simulacra deorum sed inter ornamenta aedium ponerentur*, and in his rescript preserved at Gythium asserts the general principle: so also Claudius, P. Lond., 1912. But this is the Roman tradition when an issue is raised (cf. Seyrig, *Rev. Arch.*, ser. V, 29 [1929] 104). There is nothing to suggest that official measures would be taken against exaggerated Caesar worship *outside Rome*: it is familiar that the prefect's preamble to the letter of Claudius says, ἵνα . . . τὴν τε μεγαλιότητα τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν Καίσαρος θαυμάσῃτε, and Rostovtzeff has rightly emphasized the vagueness of the answer of Tiberius.

It should not be forgotten that when the edict of Gythium was sent to Tiberius

Now it would appear that partnership did not satisfy the popular instincts which made ruler-worship possible: I mean the tendency to recognise something more than human in the outstanding individual, the *Gottmensch*, as Weinreich rightly calls him,¹ the tendency to express corporate gratitude in religious forms, and the concept of deity as, like the status of hero, a rank reached and recognised in return for services rendered or merit shown. Nor did partnership give to the ruler an adequate *locus standi*. An εἰκών of any benefactor could be placed in the cella of a temple without receiving cultus, and the distinction of εἰκών and ἄγαλμα would not always be safe: the image might be taken for one of the countless votive statues of rulers as of other men placed in temples.² Moreover, a deity sharing another's temple, one of those "jointly established in it" whom we have met in inscriptions of Amyclae, was normally subordinated, like the magistrates referred to as οἱ σὺν τῷ δεῖναι.

Again, the structure of the ordinary Greek temple did not admit readily of anything like a second cult-image within the cella,³ and it

the principate was still a new thing, and people might be uncertain of the turn which it would take. When Alexander is, in [Callisthen.] *Hist. Alex.*, II, 22, 12, p. 97 (Kroll), made to deprecate τὰς ἰσοθέους τιμὰς, we have an interesting repercussion of the Roman tradition (Wilcken, *Hermes*, LXIII, 50, has remarked on the parallels between it and the edict of Germanicus).

¹ *Neue Jahrbücher*, 1926.

² Such was no doubt the εἰκών of Philip II in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus (Arrian, *Anabasis*, I, 17, 11): probably also the statues of Arsinoe and her family in the temple which she built for the great gods on Samothrace (Conze, *Arch. Unters. auf Samothrace*, I).

³ Professor H. J. Rose has kindly drawn my attention to the objections made in 208 B.C. by the Roman pontifices when M. Claudius Marcellus wished to dedicate a temple to Honos and Virtus, *quod negabant unam cellam duobus recte dedicari, quia si de caelo tacta aut prodigii aliquid in ea factum esset, difficilis procuratio foret, quod utri deo res diuina fieret sciri non posset; neque enim duobus nisi certis deis rite una hostia fieri* (Livy 27, 25, 7 = Valerius Maximus I, 1, 8. Plut. *Marc.*, 28). He therefore restored the temple of Honos and built an additional adjoining temple of Virtus.

In the Capitoline temple there were separate cellae for Jupiter, Juno, Minerva: and the shrines of Terminus and Juventas were incorporated in the temple, the former having his place in the cella of Jupiter, the latter in the pronaos of that of Minerva (Dion. Halic., *Ant.*, III, 69). On Etruscan tripartite temples cf. P. Ducati, *Etruria antica*, I, 97.

would seem that there was a body of public opinion which would be shocked by such a step, just as Philippides was shocked by the bodily residence of Demetrius in the Parthenon. To us it might appear just as serious to found a new temple as to give a human being some sort of place in an old one. But to the Greek an extra god or an extra hero was perfectly thinkable. So the honour of a joint temple might not please the citizens and equally it was not too acceptable to kings.

6. At the same time the association of rulers with deities in the dedicatory formulas of *ex votos* and altars erected with special intention is common. It must be emphasised that a ruler can have a share in a particular cult or ceremony without sharing normally the temple of the god concerned. Philip of Macedon's image was carried in procession with those of the twelve gods at Aegae. We are not, however, told that he had, or was meant to have, a permanent position in a temple either of his own or of another deity. Philip died at once and clearly nothing of the sort happened. Our sources do not underestimate extravagant homage paid to kings, and Macedonia was not later a soil upon which ruler-cult flourished. Yet Philip's conduct is described by Diodorus as meaning that the King represented himself as enthroned with the twelve gods, which illustrates the freedom with which σύνθρονος was used.¹

We have seen the association of rulers and gods in public games²

¹ XVI, 92, σύνθρονον ἑαυτὸν ἀποδεικνύντος τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς; cf. 95, καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἑαυτὸν τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς σύνθρονον καταριθμήσας. (The Philippeion at Olympia, completed if not commenced by Alexander, included statues of Philip, Alexander, Amyntas, and Eurydice: but there is no indication of cultus. Paus. V, 20, 10, with Frazer's note.) For the loose use of epithets of this type, cf. Plut., *Amatorius* 9, p. 753 F, ἡ δὲ σύνναος μὲν ἑνταυθοῖ καὶ συνλέρος τοῦ Ἑρωτος of Phryne. At Thespiae, to which he refers, a statue of Phryne by Praxiteles did stand between his Aphrodite and his Eros (Alciphron *Ep.*, IV, 1 Schepers): but it can hardly be thought that it received cultus. And is it certain that the Eros of Praxiteles was treated as a cult-image? There was always in the temple the old ἀργὸς λίθος which was venerated.

² P. 34 ff., *supra*. I do not regard the Gythium decree as falling under this heading. In that most important document, well published by G. Kougeas, *ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ* I, 7 ff., 152 ff., and discussed by Kornemann, *Neue Dokumente zum lakonischen Kaiser-kult*; H. Seyrig, *Rev. Arch.*, ser. V, 29 (1929), 84 ff.; Wenger, *Zeitschr. Savignystift, Roman. Abt.*, 1929, XLIX, 308 ff., Rostovtzeff, *Rev. Hist.*, CLXIII, 1 ff., we read the ordinances of a theatrical festival in honour of the Imperial house between

and in the titulature of the actors' guild. We find it in other sodalities. There is an inscription of the reign of Ptolemy III recording that the priest Theoros, the *συνβασιλισταί*, and the *Διοσκοριασταί* of a nome assigned the rents of certain buildings to Ptolemy, Berenice, and the Dioscuri for the monthly sacrifices.¹ At Rome we learn in A.D. 146 of a *ἱερὰ τάξις τῶν παιανιστῶν τοῦ ἐν Ῥώμῃ Διὸς Ἥλιου μεγάλου Σαράπιδος καὶ θεῶν Σεβαστῶν*.² Further, we have at Ephesus an inscription recording a request to L. Mestrius Florus, the proconsul of Asia (A.D. 83-84), to permit the celebration of the mysteries and sacrifices annually performed *Δήμητρι καρποφόρῳ καὶ Θεσμοφόρῳ καὶ Θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς ὑπὸ μυστῶν μετὰ πολλῆς ἀγνείας καὶ νομίμων ἔθων σὺν ταῖς ἱερίαις* and preserved by kings, emperors, and proconsuls: and an Ephesian altar has been found of the time of Antoninus Pius with the inscription *Θεοῖς*

A.D. 14 and A.D. 19. They provide that the presiding magistrate shall conduct their celebrations of the first day in honour of Augustus; the second for Tiberius; the third for Julia Augusta, the Fortune of the nation and for the city; the fourth for the victory of Germanicus; the fifth for the Aphrodite of Drusus; the sixth for Flamininus. The genitives *Γερμανικοῦ τῆς Νίκης*, *Δρούσου τῆς Ἀφροδίτης*, have been explained by Kornemann as referring to temple-sharing. Germanicus and Drusus have not their own temples, and their *γραφταὶ εἰκόνες* (probably, as Rostovtzeff suggests, meant for a *lectisternium*) are kept in the temples of Nike and Aphrodite. This leaves difficulties. The portraits mentioned specially are only those of Augustus, Livia, and Drusus, and it does not appear that Livia or Tiberius had independent temples. The place for their *εἰκόνες* was no doubt the temple of Caesar mentioned expressly, and I have now little doubt that the right translation of the genitives is that of Seyrig's which I give. The victory of Germanicus, the Venus of Drusus, are parallel to Mars Augustus and his kin, or *Ἀφροδίτῃ Στρατονικῇ* or, as I suspect, Jupiter Julius, who may well be a deity of this appropriated kind rather than an identification of Jupiter and Julius. It was particularly appropriate because the wife of Drusus was herself at Ilium and probably elsewhere identified with Aphrodite.

At the same time *Νίκη* and *Ἀφροδίτη* and their Latin equivalents both lie between abstraction and goddess. Seyrig has very well quoted Cicero, *Ad Q. fratrem*, I, 1, 31, *tuas uirtutes consecratas et in deorum numero collocatas uides*. The whole text concerns a new foundation for the Imperial house and for a Roman benefactor whose cultus had lasted two centuries.

¹ O. Rubensohn, *Arch. f. Pap.*, V, 158. Note that the dedication of the vases of the Philadelphæia at Delos runs [*Ἀρσινόῃ Φιλαδέλῃ*]φοι Ἀ[*πόλλωνι Ἀρτέμιδι Δηιοῖ καὶ βασιλεῖ Πτολ[ε]μαίῳ*], where the restoration in the first gap is made certain by another inscription and there can be little doubt of the second (W. W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatos*, 292, no. 46).

² W. Weber, *Drei Untersuchungen zur ägyptisch-griechischen Religion*, 16.

Σεβ[αστοῖς καὶ] μύσταις Α . . .¹ It is hardly likely that the Emperor or the Empress identified with Demeter figures in the mysteries: but there were probably special prayers or commemorations of them. The promoters of a secret rite were perhaps eager to avoid any suspicion of cloaking disloyalty under secrecy. The name *Augustus* or Σεβαστός given to local gods made them the Emperor's gods: added to the title of festivals or sodalities it was, I suspect, sometimes little more than *Imperial*.² The same is probably true of Καισάρεια and Αὐγούστεια, possibly also of the combination of Ἀκτια with older names, as for instance ΑΚΤΙΑ ΔΟΤΑΡΙΑ at Bostra, ΑΚΤΙΑ ΗΕΡΑΚΛΙΑ at Tyre,³ and of ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΑ at Nicomedia.⁴ A particularly clear instance of association is a Pergamene mention of an ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν Σεβαστοῦ παίδων τοῦ Καθηγέμενος Διονύσου.⁵

7. In the light of these facts we may reconsider one point in the

¹ *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, I, 289: *Inscr. B. M.*, 506. Cf. Picard, *Éphèse et Claros*, 685.

² Note that the association of νέοι at Pergamon describes itself as ἡ σεβαστὴ σύνδοσις τῶν νέων in a document composed in the pro-consulship of Quadratus circa 106 and is nevertheless addressed by Hadrian without the epithet, συνδόσις τῶν ἐν Περγάμῳ νέων (*Inscripfien von Pergamon*, II, no. 440, l. 17, no. 274, l. 7; cf. the nomenclature of such associations in the West, M. Della Corte, *Iuventus*, 12). In a Hadrianic inscription of Laodicea we read of Δεῖα Σεβαστά, in a possibly later inscription of Δεῖα (*Greek Inscr. in B. M.*, 605, 615). For the epithet, cf. Σεβαστὰ Ἀσκληπιεῖα at Epidaurus *Corp. inscr. gr.*, 1186; μεγάλα Καισάρηα Σεβαστῆα Μουσεία at Thespieae, 1586; μέγιστα Οὐράνια Σεβαστεῖα Νερουανίδεια at Sparta 1424; ἀγῶνες Σεβαστοὶ Βαρβίλληοι at Ephesus, Picard, *Éphèse*, 351; Σεβαστὰ Τυρρίμνεια at Tyrimnus, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* XI, 105; ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΗΑ ΑΤΤΑΛΕΙΑ at Aphrodisias, *B. M. C. Caria* 37, 38, 47; τὰ μεγάλα Σεβαστὰ Ἀναεῖτεια (Lebas-Waddington 645), at Philadelphia; Σεβαστὰ Ἀρτεμείσια at Hierocaesarea (J. Keil in *Anatolian Studies*, 232). The Τραιάνεια Δειφίλεια at Pergamon rests on a genuine joint cultus (*Inscr. B. M.*, 605, 9, as interpreted by M. Fraenkel).

³ *B. M. C. Arabia*, 24 (Philip junior: one wreath): *B. M. C. Phoenicia*, cxliii (Caracalla and later). But games and the like are easily shared by deities, e.g., torch-races, which were early joint property of Prometheus, Hephaestus, and Pan (Oehler, *Pauly-Wissowa*, XII, 567). Cf. φιλαδέλφεια Ἀκτια Πύθια at Perinthus (Pick, *Jahreshefte*, VII, 33).

⁴ *Inscr. gr. ad res Rom.*, IV, 1568, discussed by G. Quandt, *Diss. Phil. Hal.*, XXI, ii, 152 ff.

⁵ *Inscr. v. Pergamon*, II, no. 384: I am inclined to agree with M. Fraenkel in not supposing omission of καὶ or asyndeton. We find the same magistrate called ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν Σεβαστοῦ παίδων, no. 475.

story of Lysander at Samos. Duris, as quoted by Plutarch (*Lys.* 18, 4), says:

He was the first of the Greeks to whom cities raised altars and offered sacrifices as to a god. He was the first to whom paeans were sung, the beginning of one of which they quote in this way, "We will sing of the general of goodly Greece from Sparta, of the broad dancing places *O ie paeon*," and the Samians voted that they should call their Heraia Lysandreia.

As Kaerst and others have urged, this last point raises very great difficulties.¹ Hera was the great goddess of Samos and to rob her of her festival and give it to a mortal was perhaps just possible for oligarchs back in power, and, like Critias, contemptuous of popular belief. But it would have shocked Greece in a way which must surely have left an earlier impress even on our tradition. It is, however, credible that just as images of Zeus and other gods and Ptolemy Soter and Alexander followed in the Dionysiac procession at Alexandria described by Callixenus,² so Lysander should have been in some way associated with Hera's festival. The news of the victory at Munda reached Rome the day before the *Parilia*; they were therefore celebrated with additional splendour. Again, in 44 B.C. a fifth day was added to the *Ludi Romani* in Caesar's honour.³ As Professor H. J. Rose has suggested, it would be easy for some Attic writer of comedy to say *The Samians have turned their Heraia into a Lysandreia*, and for an ancient historian to take this, like so many other jests, seriously. Such an error seems to have happened in the tradition relating to Demetrius Poliorcetes.⁴ It is asserted by Plutarch that the Athenians changed the name of the Dionysia to Demetria: but a newly found inscription, to be published by Professor Dinsmoor in *Archons of Athens*

¹ Kaerst, *Rhein. Mus.*, LII, 623; Kornemann, *Klio*, I, 55. Plut., *Lys.*, 18, 3, draws attention to the untrustworthy nature of one tale concerning Lysander's conduct after Aegospotami. Hesychios, s.v. Λυσάνδρεια· πανήγυρις ἀπὸ Λυσάνδρου ὀνομασθεῖσα. ἤγοντο δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ ἀγῶνες καὶ θυσίαι, and Photius, *Lex.*, p. 398 Naber Λυσάνδρεια· πανήγυρις ἤγετο ἐν Σάμῳ need not rest on anything more than the Plutarch passage.

² *Ap.* Athenaeum V, p. 202 A.

³ Dio Cassius, XLIII, 42, 3; Cic., *Phil.*, II, 110.

⁴ I owe my knowledge of this text to Professor Ferguson. Later the Emperor was associated with the Heraia; it is called τὰ μεγάλα Σεβαστὰ Ἡραῖα (Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, 496).

in the Hellenistic Age records a decree proposed by Stratocles in 293/2 B.C. κ[αὶ] ἀ[ν]ειπεῖν τὸν στέφ[ανον] Διονυσίων τῶν ἐν ἄστ[ε]ι καὶ Δημητρίε[ι]ων τρ[ι]αγῶιδῶν τῷ ἁγῶνι which suggests a combined festival, possibly the Dionysia lengthened by a day or days.

8. We may, in concluding, ask one general question about ruler-worship. It is commonly agreed that there is little which can be called Oriental in Hellenistic practice. In Egypt the native cult of each Ptolemy, as a Pharaoh, is quite distinct from the Greek cult, which we find misunderstood by an Egyptian.¹ In Babylon the Seleucids, sympathetic as they were to the local temple and popular as they may well have been with the priesthood, do not, Schnabel says, receive divine epitaphs on cuneiform tablets. This is the more interesting in view of the earlier deification of Babylonian kings even in their lifetime.² As for Persia, there kings were not gods.

It has been objected that the custom does not appear in the one kingdom of the Diadochi which was not in direct contact with the east, that is Macedon. But the truth is that the difference of Macedonian kingship from its contemporaries lies in the fact that it was an old constitutional monarchy with very definite status, privileges, and limitations.³ The other Diadochi were really either adventurers or the heirs of adventurers occupying, or inheriting, positions which rested ultimately on force. Their constitutional pretences were therefore far thinner. Like Alexander they needed a special position: like Alexander they could accept and welcome the contemporary tendency to recognise something divine in human beings who were clearly out of the ordinary.

Deification, then, in the West does not spring from Oriental roots and can be explained from Greek ideas, such as the concept of the θεῖος ἀνὴρ like Empedocles and the concept of heroic and divine rank as something attained by merit. Why then did the cultus of striking

¹ U. Wilcken, *Arch. f. Pap.*, IX, 73 f.

² *Klio*, XX, 411: for earlier deification there, cf. Br. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, I, 46 f., 371; II, 491.

³ So P. Jouguet, *L'impérialisme macédonien et l'hellénisation de l'Orient*, 339 f. Macedonian kings receive divine honors *in partibus*: cf. Perdrizet, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, XVIII, 417 (Amphipolis is, as Mr. Tarn remarks to me, no exception: it remained pretty much a Greek city. Cf. *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, VII, 198.)

men of action not start earlier? From 404 onwards we find sporadic beginnings, but not till then. The answer is, I think, not difficult. Is it perhaps given in part by Plutarch's description of Lysander "as having such power as no previous Greek?" In the fifth century there was in Greece no man who had had the power or prestige necessary to impose sufficiently on the popular imagination. The heroes of the Persian war could not achieve godhead, for Sparta was always unwilling and Athens was a democracy whose leaders were always subject to severe criticism at home. Why did it not occur in the age of the tyrants? It may be said that the argument from silence makes the question unsafe and that, for instance, we might well know more about those tyrants who had overseas possessions, since ruler-worship so often begins there. It is however difficult to believe that our tyrant-hating tradition would have failed to cling to any facts looking even remotely like arrogation of divinity. It may also be said that the age of the tyrants was not marked by any great war-like achievements capable of kindling the imagination. But the real answer is, I think, that in the sixth century there is a paramount contrary influence, that of Delphi. On any innovation involving worship, Delphi would have been consulted¹ and Delphi's point of view, that of *γνώθι σεαυτόν*, would have been definite and adverse, and the tyrant's position would not have been strong enough to permit him to go against Delphi on this issue: he could not on it call local patriotism to his support as did Cleisthenes on one religious issue at Sicyon. He lived in a world in which conformity with its normal ideals was the best policy. By 400 Delphi is weaker and much that was latent earlier could now find expression. To some all such development seems decay; but, as Reitzenstein has reminded us, *Vergehen ist Werden*.

¹ Very significant is the sentence put by Arrian, *Anab.*, IV, 11, 7, in the mouth of Callisthenes, οὐκ οὐν οὐδὲ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ζῶντι ἔτι θείαι τιμαὶ παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἐγέγοντο, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τελευτήσαντι πρόσθεν ἢ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐπιθεσπισθῆναι ὡς θεὸν τιμᾶν Ἡρακλέα.

It would be interesting to know whether the men of Amphipolis consulted Delphi about their transference of oecist honours from Hagion to Brasidas.

A RED-FIGURED LEKYTHOS WITH THE ΚΑΛΟΣ-NAME ΦΑΙΝΙΠΠΟΣ

BY STERLING DOW

A HITHERTO unrecorded *καλός*-name gives the vase which is represented in Plate I its chief but not its only interest. It is a red-figured lekythos which was given to the Fogg Art Museum by the daughters of Charles Eliot Norton in 1912.¹ The upper part of the body was badly smashed² but has been put together, so that only the middle section of the face including mouth, nose, and eye (but not the eye-brow) have had to be restored. The first two letters of the inscription, which is on the *τανία* (fillet), were injured, but are clearly decipherable even in our photograph (Plate II).

The figure is that of a woman striding to the right and looking back; she holds a mirror in her left hand, and in her right, which is more extended, a *taenia*. The vase has five black palmettes on the reserved shoulder. The *maeander*, as well as the reserved line beneath the figure, is not continuous about the vase. Practically all of these lines are visible in the photograph. Details will be explained as we proceed. Here I would only remark that the figure seems to me not to represent any definite character of religion or mythology. She is nameless.

The work throughout is careless. The shape of the body of the vase, as seen from the front, is irregular. The handle is not put on straight. The *maeander* above and the reserved line below the figure are hasty work. Other defects will be mentioned in their places.

The only evidence for dating is found in the lines of the garments, which would place the work between the years 470 and 450 B.C. If the eye is restored correctly — there is no way of making sure — the vase would date from the latter part of this period. In any case, it can hardly be later than 450. The five black palmettes on the shoulder are

¹ Accession no. 12.15. Height, 24.5 centimeters; diameter, 6.2 centimeters.

² Probably by the blow of a pick in the hands of the discoverer, as Professor G. H. Chase suggested. It is a pleasure to acknowledge this and many other suggestions from Professor Chase.

distinctive, and their character is not due entirely to careless painting. The crude blob-like leaves are sometimes connected with, sometimes separate from, the nucleus; a few spring from other leaves: this variation is due to carelessness. Essentially the palmettes are distinguished by a central nucleus with a curling tendril beneath, on each side, conjoined with it: this is not carelessness, but the painter's evident intention. This form of palmette is not common. A parallel can be seen in the seven palmettes on the shoulder of a lekythos in Boston¹ by the Gales Painter, which are similar except that there are small "heart-shapes" in place of the dots which appear on the Fogg vase. But the Gales Painter is certainly not the author of our vase, nor does his date help — he was only slightly earlier — for palmettes of very similar form can be found on a kylix by Epiktetos, who, however, has an encircling tendril.² Closer still in form are the five black palmettes on the reserved shoulder of a white-bodied lekythos in the Hoppin collection at the Fogg Art Museum;³ this dates from the early fifth century, but the type goes back to the black-figured style.⁴ It would seem, as usual, that palmettes are of little help in close dating.

As to style, the slenderness of the figure is its salient quality, in contrast with the most nearly similar figures on other lekythoi. The vertical proportions, however, are normal for this period: the height of the head being to the total height of the figure as one is to seven. That the style of the painting, like other features of this piece, should be hard to parallel is strange, but this peculiarity is explicable, at least in part, because the work is so poor. A somewhat similar sway of the garments, however, especially of the chiton, is easy to find elsewhere. A Nolan

¹ Museum of Fine Arts, Acc. no. 13. 195. J. C. Hoppin, *Handbook of Attic Red-Figured Vases* (Cambridge, Mass., 1919), I, 462 f. Noted by Miss N. Gifford, doctoral thesis (unpublished) in the Radcliffe Library, on "The Palmette Design in Greek Art," Illustration 208. The palmettes on the body are different; Gifford, Illustration 217.

² British Museum E 38. Hoppin, *R. F. Vases*, I, 313.

³ *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Hoppin and Gallatin Collections*, Pl. 19, no. 5.

⁴ E. g., Boston, 76. 42, an amphora which has the leaves joined to the nucleus, and no dots; Gifford, Ill. 199. Among the illustrations of Jacobsthal (P. Jacobsthal, *Ornamente Griechischer Vasen* (Berlin, 1927), somewhat similar palmettes are to be seen on two BF vases (Pls. 69a and 88c) and on three white-bodied vases (Pls. 47a, 53a, and 53bc).



LEKYTHOS IN THE FOGG ART MUSEUM

Amphora in the Fogg collection,¹ and a vase in Berlin,² both attributed to the Alkimachos Painter, show figures wearing short chitons. In both cases the drapery swirls up behind. This feature is also seen on a lekythos in Compiègne attributed by Beazley to the school of the Master of the Berlin Amphora.³ To this master, who was fond of slender proportions, the style of our vase has a remote affinity — very remote, for no one could suggest a direct connection between it and the work of a painter so exquisite.

The pose, with feet and head facing in opposite directions, is of course all but impossible. Other details of the drawing are also quite incorrect; but at the moment I am concerned with linking the impossibility of the pose with its meaninglessness. Why should the woman look back? Why should she hold out the fillet behind her, with hand open and thumb raised? The fillet itself ought to sway in the other direction as she moves: it has obviously not been made an integral part of the scene. The artist just laid it, as it were, in her palm. That he had a definite idea in showing a mirror and a taenia borne by a woman, I shall try to show. Here I wish to point out that he has failed to unite these three elements (woman, taenia, mirror) in a convincing drawing. The conclusion must be that the pose is borrowed, either consciously by direct copying of a single instance, or perhaps unconsciously from a type to be seen in hundreds of instances.⁴ This conclusion, which I think answers my questions, is enforced by another peculiarity of this vase. It is the only vase of this period or earlier, so far as I know, showing a person carrying a mirror and a taenia.⁵ Our painter was attempting a new synthesis. We must seek now the source of one element, the woman's pose.

¹ Fogg, 27.148 (old no. 1641.95). Hoppin, *R. F. Vases*, I, p. 18, no. 3; J. D. Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler des Rotfigurigen Stils* (Tübingen, 1925), p. 296.

² Berlin, Inv. 30035. Hoppin, *R. F. Vases*, I, p. 18, no. 1; Beazley, *Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918), fig. 85, p. 137; *Attische Vasenmaler*, p. 298.

³ *Corpus Vasorum, Compiègne*, Pl. 14, no. 7; Hoppin, *R. F. Vases*, I, p. 68; no. 65 bis; Beazley, *Vases in American Museums*, p. 40, and *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXI (1911), 276; *Attische Vasenmaler*, p. 86.

⁴ I shall try to prove below that the latter was the case.

⁵ The *Corpus Vasorum* contains none; Reinach's *Répertoire* contains none; and there is no similar lekythos in the British Museum.

There is no need to look far. Any collection will show plenty of examples of what amounts to a type, distinguished by a running or swift-walking motion, the head being turned straight back, the body generally full front, the arms usually held out on both sides, often with the right palm up and thumb raised: it is the conventional way of drawing a person (usually a woman) being pursued. I do not maintain that it is a type having Egyptian uniformity. On the contrary, it varies in countless ways, especially in the position of the hands. What we have here is a familiar thing in Greek art, namely an archetype used by artists of every period with infinite minor changes.¹

Its history may be briefly outlined. In the period contemporary with our vase, it is used for such figures as that of Oreithyia pursued by Boreas,² Tithonos caught by Eos,³ Thetis seized by Peleus,⁴ Helen threatened by Menelaos.⁵ Always there are countless scenes of silenoi and satyrs pursuing women, who flee with agitated gestures, but somehow always prefer to look round and face their pursuers. Such scenes are a staple subject on black-figured vases.⁶ An Amazon pursued by Heracles is also frequent.⁷ In this style we find, as we go back, the legs more and more bent at the knee. It is the 'archaic running position,' seen in such figures as the Flying Nike of Delos.⁸

¹ Miss Gisela M. A. Richter, *Ancient Furniture* (Oxford, 1926), Preface, p. viii, makes the same point in regard to architecture, sculpture, furniture, and the shapes of vases. In regard to the New Comedy especially, see W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (London — New York, 1911), pp. 91, 92. For literature and this subject in general, see Professor H. W. Smyth's article, "Aspects of Greek Conservatism," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XVII (1906), 49 ff. On single figures suggestive of larger scenes, see A. Fairbanks, *Athenian White Lekythoi* (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series), VI, 35 and especially p. 51. I shall refer to Vol. VI of this series as Fairbanks, I, and to Vol. VII as Fairbanks, II.

² K. Masner, *Die Sammlung Antiker Vasen im Museum* (Wien, 1892), p. 339, Pl. VII.

³ Boston, 95.28 (signed by Hieron); Hoppin, *R. F. Vases*, II, 46 f.

⁴ Boston, 95.63. ⁵ Boston, 13.186. Hoppin, *R. F. Vases*, II, 52 f.

⁶ Boston, 76.48 is a particularly apposite example. This early black-figured kylix shows a pursued woman in a position quite like that on our vase, except that there is no sway in the chiton, and the knees, of course, are more bent.

⁷ E. g., Munich, 681 (Jahn); T. Lau, *Die Griechischen Vasen* (Leipzig, 1877), Pl. XV; also Boston, 98.916, a Tyrrhenian amphora.

⁸ Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler Griechischer und Römischer Sculptur* (München, 1888-1900), Pl. 36.

We can also trace the pose down into the Free Style after 450, into the later fifth and the fourth centuries. Here the story is one of gradual improvement in the position of feet and head — they cease to be in profile — and a swinging of the body into various “three-quarter” positions.¹ The type culminates, and in a sense ceases to be a type, when, after some two centuries of development in Greece, painters of the Polygnotus group finally render the attitude with truth to anatomy.²

The object in the left hand is certainly a mirror; if so, the attachment at the upper end, shaped like a filled-in letter U, can hardly be anything but the loop by which such handled mirrors were hung. Smaller loops are sometimes shown on white-bodied vases;³ I give as examples three red-figured vases, instances where the loop is little larger than a dot.⁴ I have not been able to discover a single surviving handled mirror of metal that has a loop; but a covered mirror shown in Stackelberg⁵ had a handle which might well be represented somewhat as on our vase. Covered mirrors, however, appear only after 400.⁶ Nor

¹ Munich 776 (Jahn); Lau, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXVI, no. 1, the figure of Dionysus; I mention this by way of pointing out a kind of subordinate related type. In both B. F. and R. F. styles, Dionysus appears in the midst of his rout, generally looking back. His pose is often quite similar to that of the figure on our vase.

² A prime example is the Aktaion on a bell krater in Boston (00.346), attributed (Beazley, *Vases in American Museums*, p. 173 and fig. 107; *Attische Vasenmaler*, p. 399, no. 6) to the Lykaon Painter. On this very vase we see the transition, for on the reverse appears a woman striding off with face turned straight back, and right breast shown, entirely in the old manner. On this particular pose, cf. Fairbanks, I, 62, and especially p. 79, where he suggests that the type developed from a stationary, not a running, position of the figure; this is a possible alternative to the derivation which I have suggested. In the view of Mr. Fairbanks, the figure is not to be taken as an abbreviation of a larger scene. In either view, the composition with the taenia is an incomplete synthesis. On p. 112 he suggests that lekythos painters got the type from kylix painters.

³ E. g., Fairbanks, II, Pl. VIII, no. 1 = Boston, 93.64, showing the mirror hanging; Pl. XIII, no. 3 = New York, 06.1021. 130, shows a mirror with the loop, held in the hand. Instances are abundant.

⁴ Oxford 537 = Beazley, *Vases in American Museums*, fig. 110 bis, a Free Style pointed amphora. O. Benndorf, *Griechische und Sicilische Vasenbilder* (Berlin 1869-83), Pl. XXXVIII, a gilded aryballic lekythos of the Free Style. Boston, 03.821 is the most realistic, hook and mirror being connected.

⁵ O. M. von Stackelberg, *Die Gräber der Hellenen* (Berlin, 1837), Pl. VII.

⁶ H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Bronzes in British Museum* (London, 1899), p. xlv.

do archaic mirrors with stands solve the problem, for although some ¹ that are extant have rings, the rings are small. It is another piece of carelessness on the part of our painter.

Let us first consider the meaning of the mirror by itself, leaving out of account the taenia in her other hand. In actual Greek life, as in vase paintings, mirrors were associated with two places, the home and the grave. Fairbanks says definitely that "the fan, the mirror, and the kalathos in the hands of a woman [in a scene at a grave] are objects characteristic of the daily life of the person who carries them;" ² a mirror shown hanging beside the stele where no wall exists is a reminiscence of mirrors hanging in the house, and "belongs in the gynaikeion."³ That mirrors in scenes at graves often mean more than this is shown by the fact that they were buried with the corpse,⁴ as if for his or her (possibly it is always *her*) continued use.⁵ Now scenes in the gynaikeion at this period are rare. Hence by itself the mirror suggests the possibility of a funereal subject.

The whole subject of the taenia deserves fuller study than it has yet received.⁶ In general, it is an emblem of consecration, whether of the victorious athlete or rhapsodist, of the banqueter or the kottabos stand, of the thyrsos, of sacred trees, branches, and pillars, and of many other things, particularly of grave stelae.⁷ We have here to do only with its connection with mirrors. That there must be a connection is patent, for it is absurd to suppose an artist of our day depicting a lady with (say) a wreath in one hand and a vanity case in the other — an analogy extreme perhaps, but essentially valid. If this is so, the natural connotation of the taenia and mirror together is a burial. In

¹ E. g., British Museum, 243. Walters, *Catalogue*, p. 24, and Pl. IV.

² *Op. cit.*, II, 235.

³ *Op. cit.*, I, 351.

⁴ G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum* (New York, 1915), Group III, p. 180 (burial of a woman); and also, no. 817, p. 281 (the mirror has no loop). Also Stackelberg, *op. cit.*, Pl. VII (a plan of the burial, with a covered mirror on the right ankle — the mirror mentioned in note 3, *supra*).

⁵ Fairbanks, *op. cit.*, I, 355. And see also the white-bodied lekythos, Boston, 10.220, published in Fairbanks, II, Pl. XXXVII. This shows a diminutive figure of a woman seated on a broad stele — presumably her own — and using a mirror.

⁶ I hope to publish soon an article on this subject.

⁷ The most accurate statement thus far on the taenia is M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* (Lund, 1927), p. 179.

fact, supposing a painter wanted to show a woman hastening to the grave, he could have picked no two more expressive objects,¹ unless he showed a whole basket of taeniae instead of one; and baskets of taeniae do not, except very rarely indeed, appear on red-figured vases.²

Without more ado, then, I propose to assign this vase to a class which as a whole represents the transition from domestic scenes to scenes of worship at the stele.³ In this class it will rank late, among vases on which the scene has already a funereal meaning which is inescapable, although as yet we have no stele represented.⁴ Among white-bodied (funeral) lekythoi, the nearest analogies are found in Fairbanks's Group A: Class III, series *b*.⁵ Number 17 of this series is the most similar in composition, the pose being identical; she holds a taenia but no mirror.⁶

The association of taeniae with graves is indeed inevitable and perfectly familiar. It is the usual thing for the shaft to be draped with one or several; in nine cases out of ten it is the offering in the hands of worshippers.⁷ It was more than mere decoration. In 'prothesis' scenes taeniae are often laid across the body itself;⁸ and a representation of

¹ Cf. L. D. Caskey, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculptures in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts* (Cambridge, Mass., 1925), no. 23, pp. 55-56. This stele shows a woman holding a mirror.

² An instance of a woman carrying a basket of taeniae and a mirror together appears on a white-bodied lekythos; see Fairbanks, II, 200. (The vase is in Athens, Nat. Mus., 1812; Collignon-Couve, *Catalogue des Vases Peints du Musée National d'Athènes*, no. 1812, p. 576.) The sole other example of a mirror and a true taenia being carried by one person, so far as I have been able to discover, is a Campanian amphora, Boston, 99.540. A woman on the reverse of this funeral vase has a mirror and a taenia; and on the neck of the obverse side is shown a siren holding a mirror, a taenia, and a basket. It is necessary to distinguish the true taenia, with tabs, from the wider band, with a fringe (usually shown in toilet scenes).

³ The group is discussed by R. Weisshaupt in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* (Wien, 1898), pp. 89 ff.; and briefly by Fairbanks, I, 343.

⁴ Athens, Nat. Mus., 1052 (1873). Collignon, Pl. XXXVII, and Cat., p. 328.

⁵ Fairbanks, II, 74-80.

⁶ The location of the vase is given simply as "Athens." Fairbanks, II, 75. *Athenische Mitteilungen*, XVII (1892), Pl. I, no. 5. No. 3, *loc. cit.*, is similar also, but lacks both mirror and taenia.

⁷ Fairbanks, II, 229, 232-233.

⁸ The example in E. Pottier, *Étude sur les Lécythes Blancs* (Paris, 1883), Pl. I is apposite. Note the mirror.

the burial inside the tumulus shows ends of two taeniae, or both ends of one taenia, hanging above the dead.¹ The figure of a dead person, seated among domestic surroundings, is shown draped with a taenia,² as is a body deposited at the tomb by Sleep and Death.³ Taeniae even appear in a scene with Charon himself.⁴

It is convenient to note at this point that there is nothing to make one suppose that the inscription is to be thought of as woven in the taenia. Taeniae had very simple decoration,⁵ or more usually none at all. The name was probably written on the taenia simply because it was the most convenient place.⁶

The inscription, of which the first two letters are damaged, reads as follows:

ΦΑΙΝΙΠΠΟΣ ΚΑΘΟΣ

This name is not found in Klein's list ⁷ of καλός-names. Of the eight men named Phainippos listed in Kirchner,⁸ the date of one makes him a quite possible identification; one other is barely possible. The former is Phainippos, son of Phrynichos,⁹ mentioned by Thucydides¹⁰ as γραμματεὺς¹¹ in connection with a psephisma of 424/3. Two inscriptions datable in that year have the name, presumably of the same man.¹²

¹ Stackelberg, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXXVIII.

² Fondation Piot, *Monuments et Mémoires*, XII (1905), Pl. III.

³ A. S. Murray, *White Athenian Vases in the British Museum* (London, 1896), Pl. IX.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Pl. XII.

⁵ E. g., New York, 06.1171, in Fairbanks, I, Pl. X, no. 1.

⁶ The alternative was the drapery. The familiar instance of an inscription on drapery is the ΛΟΡΙΣ on three lekythoi (Hoppin, *R. F. Vases*, I, 221, 270, 271, 272). I know of no other case.

⁷ W. Klein, *Die Griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften*, 2 ed. (Leipzig, 1898).

⁸ Joh. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica* (Berlin, 1901-03). There is no man by this name in J. Sundwall's *Nachträge* (Helsingfors, 1910).

⁹ No. 13979 in Kirchner.

¹⁰ IV, 118, 11.

¹¹ See also W. S. Ferguson, *Athenian Secretaries* (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, VII, 1898), p. 15.

¹² (1) I. G., I², 57, line 2 (the first letter of Φαινιππος is restored). (2) I. G., I², 70, line 5 (the first five letters are restored). See Kirchhoff in *Abhandlungen der Königlich Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1861), pp. 555 ff., and Roberts-Gardner, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy* (Cambridge, 1905), p. 41.



LEKYTHOS IN THE FOGG ART MUSEUM: DETAIL

The identification of this Phainippos with the one named on the vase is, of course, mere conjecture, as in the case of all but a few *καλός*-names. A second Phainippos, son of Paioneios, is mentioned in a decree¹ of 407/6. The date makes him very late for identification with the youth named on a vase of even 450 B.C., but still barely possible.

The normal place for *καλός*-inscriptions is of course in the field. But their occurrence on objects in the scene is not unusual. Counting the present instance, I find 31 *καλός*-name inscriptions on objects. My count of these as found in Klein is as follows:

On shields (counting separately two on one vase) ²	10
On wine-skins, sacks, etc.	5
On stelae.	4
On vases	3
On men's thighs	2
On a man's shoulder	1
On a pillar	1
On a step	1
On the base of a column	1
On a roll	1
On a taenia	1

The last, which is one of only three other instances of inscriptions on taeniae which I have discovered, is found on a kylix signed by Apollodoros.³ It reads (restored) *ὁ παῖς χαλός*. Our vase is therefore unique in having an actual name on a taenia. It was put there, one might suppose, as an afterthought. The red-figured technique necessitates fore-

¹ I. G., I², 304, line 68. No. 13983 in Kirchner.

² See also G. H. Chase, *An Amphora with a New καλός-Name*, Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, XVII (1906), 145 ff.

³ Klein, p. 105. Hoppin, *R. F. Vases*, I, 46 f. The third inscription on a taenia is senseless, and it is doubtful if the kind of sash on which it is written should be called a taenia. The vase is Boston, 97.370, attributed to the Altamura Painter (Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler*, p. 336, no. 36; *Vases in American Museums*, p. 145; Hoppin, *R. F. Vases*, I, p. 21, no. 3).

The fourth inscription is found on a terra cotta bobbin in the Metropolitan Museum attributed to the Penthesilea Painter (New York, 28.167). The taenia on the head of Kephalos bears a minute incised inscription which Miss Richter, who kindly examined it under a microscope, declares is tentative and does not form an actual word. For an inscription upon a wooden taenia, see Theophrastus, *Characters*, 'Ανελευθερίας (KB', 2 Diels): *νικήσας τραγῳδοῖς ταινίαν ξυλίνην ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Διονύσῳ, ἐπιγράψας μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα*.

thought about any inscription in the field before the black glaze is applied. As a matter of fact, inscriptions in the field outnumber those on objects by more than seven to one.

So much being true, it is possible to speculate further on the whole meaning of the vase. May it not have been that Phainippos died after the vase was made, that some admirer selected it as an offering, appropriate for its design (and after all it is a *lekythos*,¹ the vase preëminently associated with the grave), had the name written on it, and made it his poor offering?² This explanation has no close parallel, so far as I know; but may not a unique feature require a unique explanation?³

¹ There is of course a class of red-figured grave *lekythoi*. Examples are Boston, 93.103 and 93.104.

² J. C. Hoppin, *Euthymides and His Fellows* (Cambridge, Mass., 1917), pp. 102 f. speaking of a *kalós*-name on a vase which has a different subject, suggests the addition of the name at the buyer's request. He shows that a name might be added and the vase fired again without injury.

³ An alternative is to suppose that Phainippos was a victor in some contest. This accords with the general supposition that *kalós*-names applied to the living (for a form of valediction to the dead see London, British Museum, D 76; Fairbanks, I, 77; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XV (1895), p. 192, Pl. VII); but this interpretation makes the mirror an entirely discordant element.

STUDIES IN THE EPIC TECHNIQUE OF ORAL VERSE-MAKING. I. HOMER AND HOMERIC STYLE

By MILMAN PARRY

1. The plan of the study (p. 77). — 2. The formula (p. 80). — 3. The traditional formula (p. 84). — 4. The formula outside Homer (p. 90). — 5. The formula in Homer (p. 117). — 6. The traditional oral style (p. 134).

IN my study of the traditional epithet in Homer¹ I dealt with those formulas in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey* which are made up of a noun and one or more fixed epithets, and showed that they were created to help the poet set the heroic tale to hexameters. The noun has a metrical value which allows little change, but by adding to it an ornamental epithet one can make a phrase of the needed length which, since the epithet has no bearing on the idea of the sentence, can be used as freely as the simple noun. I also showed that the technique of the use of the noun-epithet formulas is worked out to so fine a point that it could be only for the smallest part due to any one man. Unless the language itself stands in the way, the poet² — or poets — of the Homeric poems has — or have — a noun-epithet formula to meet every regularly recurring need. And what is equally striking, there is usually only one such formula. An artifice of composition of this variety and of this thrift must have called for the long efforts of many poets who all sought the best and easiest way of telling the same kind of stories in the same verse-form. Now no reader of the study, so far as I know, has failed to grant its main thesis, which I have just given. When fault has been found, it has rather been with what has seemed to be the bearing of the limited conclusions on the larger problem

¹ *L'Épithète traditionnelle dans Homère* (Paris, 1928).

² I shall use the term Homer as signifying either *the poet* (or *the poets*) of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, or *the text of the Iliad and Odyssey*. This use of the term is possible in a study like the present one which has to do only with that body of repeated phrases which is common to the poems as a whole. Whether we suppose one or several poets, we have, so far as the formulas are concerned, only a single style. For a demonstration of the unity of the diction so far as it is made up of noun-epithet formulas see *L'Épithète traditionnelle*, pp. 238-240.

of Homeric style. It has been objected that formulas are to be found in all poetry, where they come either from one writer's copying another or from his using his own diction over once he has formed it.¹ Then others have thought that the noun-epithet formulas in Homer's style are an unusual feature, and that they might well have become fixed while the poet was elsewhere left to choose for his ideas what words he would.² These remarks, I think, are not without reason. I must claim to have said myself that one could not hope to show by the method used in the study that Homer's style is altogether traditional,³ and I believe that the chapter on the epithet in Apollonius and Virgil shows that true noun-epithet formulas are absent from later Greek and Latin verse, if not from all written European literature.⁴ But the statement that a certain part of Homer's diction is almost entirely traditional is one which is sure to suggest larger conclusions; and formulas — or what looks something like them at any rate — would seem to be fairly common in Greek, Latin, and modern verse. The conclusion that Homer's style is more or less formulaic will not be complete until we know just how large a place formulas have in the style of Homer and in that of later poets. No number of formulas found in later authors would disprove the fact that the fixed epithet in Homer is traditional; but they might keep us from saying that Homeric style is so formulaic that it can be understood only as a traditional and an oral style.

So it is that the criticisms which I have just mentioned seem to me to point out the next step which would naturally be taken in the study of the traditional element in Homer. Moreover, we must know the nature of Homeric style as a whole before it will be possible to go on to other studies which seem to me necessary for the understanding of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, — such as the use of noun-epithet formulas in the Greek epic after Homer, which should tell us much about the Singers — ἀοιδοί — and about the making of the Homeric

¹ Paul Shorey, *Classical Philology*, XXIII (1928), p. 305; S. E. Bassett, *Classical Journal*, XXV (1930), p. 642.

² P. Chantraine, *Revue de philologie*, III (1929), p. 299.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 131.

⁴ Chap. II: "L'Emploi de l'épithète dans les poèmes épiques à style non-traditionnel," pp. 29-44; cf. pp. 208-217.

poems; or the relation between the formulas, the dialectic forms, and the hexameter, wherein lies much knowledge of the early history of the epic; or the stylistic likenesses between the Greek epic and the oral epics of other nations, which must form the basis of any attempt to judge Homer by what we know about these other poems.

Since these topics have all to do with the style, and more closely with the diction of Homer, I think it may be well here at the outset to explain what seems to me to be just now the value of studies of this sort. There is first of all the sure promise of better knowing the poet's thought as we note in just what way he has chosen to express it. But there is also the hope that we may thus save the question of the making of the Homeric poems from the danger of scepticism. The scholars of our time have proved the weakness of the attempts made for more than a century to show how the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were pieced together, and though one would hesitate to say, as Lucian makes Homer say,¹ that all the condemned verses are his, one reads the poems in a way which amounts to just about that. Yet those who have thus well refuted the theories which broke up the poems have themselves given no very good explanation of just how they were made. When they have turned to the positive side of their argument, which is the art of Homer, they have often added much to our enjoyment of the poetry, but they have often been as willful in their judgment as ever were those whom they sought to refute. Moreover, they have refused to see the need of answering certain valid questions which had been raised by the 'higher criticism.' For example, what reasons have they had for passing over the fact pointed out by Wolf that a limited use of writing for literary purposes, which is the most one can suppose for Homer's age, must have made for a poetry very unlike ours?² What source have they given for the tradition that Homer was recorded only at a later time?³ How have they explained the unique number of *good* variant readings

¹ *A True Story*, 2, 20.

² "Quid? quod, si forte his [sc. graphio et tabula] instructus, unus in saeculo suo, Iliada et Odysseam hoc tenore pertexuisset, in ceterarum opportunitatum penuria similes illae fuissent ingenti navigio, quod quis in prima ruditate navigationis fabricatus in loco mediterraneo, machinis et phalangis ad protrudendum, atque adeo mari careret, in quo experimentum suae artis caperet. — *Prolegomena* 26. For our present knowledge about writing in the Homeric age, see below, p. 79, n. 1.

³ Pausanias 7, 26, 13; Josephus, *Against Apion* 1, 2, 6 (Reinach).

in our text of Homer, and the need for the laborious editions of Aristarchus and of the other grammarians, and the extra lines, which grow in number as new papyri are found? ¹ Finally, have they shown why the poems should be of such a sort as to lend themselves to the many attempts to show the parts of which they were made, and have they told why these attempts were often made by men of the best taste and judgment? Like those whom they were refuting they have, I think, failed, because they would not see that in style and form Homeric verse is unlike that to which they are used.

If we are to learn the true nature of the poems, and if we are to solve the question of their authorship, or know that it cannot be solved, or, as may well prove to be the case, if we are to find that its sure solution does not count for so much as one thinks, we must take another course. We must go back to the principle of Aristarchus of getting "the solution from the text," but we must enlarge it until it covers not only the meaning of a verse or passage but the poems entire, and lets us know why the poet, or poets, of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* made them as they are, or as they were at first. Whatever feature of poetic art we may study, we must follow it throughout the traditional text,² and try to see it clearly and fully; but our hope will not be to find places out of harmony with one another, but instead, after finding all the elements of the poems which bear upon that feature, to draw from them when we can, but from them only, a new idea of poetic artistry. This is, of course, in my own terms, nothing more than one use of the historical method of criticism,³ which has been used by all good critics. What I wish to point out is not the need of a new method, but of a stricter use, in the supreme problem of Homer's idea of style and poetic form, of the one good one. It is here, rather than in the study of religious,

¹ For the papyri of Homer, see Victor Bérard, *Introduction à l'Odyssée* (Paris, 1924), I, pp. 51-70.

² "Traditional text" is of course a relative term. (Cf. G. M. Bolling, *The External Evidence for Interpolation in Homer*, Oxford, 1925, pp. 1-15.) The doubtful lines and groups of lines are, however, too few, and with the rarest exceptions too regular in language to affect the subject of these pages; so that for my purposes the traditional text is that of A. Ludwich (Leipzig, 1889-1907).

³ Cf. Roger Bacon, *De augmentis scientiarum* 2, 4; Ernest Renan, *L'Avenir de la science* (Paris, 1892), p. 292; Alfred Croiset, *Histoire de la littérature grecque*³ (Paris, 1910), I, pp. ix-xliii; M. Parry, *L'Épithète traditionnelle*, pp. 1-4.

or cultural, or social, or historical details that we must look for the answer to the question of how the poems were made, since the statement of a fact can only be rightly judged when we know how the statement came to be made. Yet it is precisely in the matter of literary form that we are most likely to apply without thinking the ideas which have been gradually formed in us by the writings of later times.

The first move in this attempt to rebuild the Homeric idea of epic poetry will be to show that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are composed in a traditional style, and are composed orally, then to see just how such poetry differs from our own in style and form. When that is done, we shall have solid ground beneath us when we undertake the problem of unity in the poems, or judge a doubtful verse, or try to point out how one epic poem would differ from another, or how the greatness of a Singer would show itself. We shall find then, I think, that this failure to see the difference between written and oral verse was the greatest single obstacle to our understanding of Homer, we shall cease to be puzzled by much, we shall no longer look for much that Homer would never have thought of saying, and above all, we shall find that many, if not most of the questions we were asking, were not the right ones to ask.

I. THE PLAN OF THE STUDY

The poet who composes with only the spoken word a poem of any length must be able to fit his words into the mould of his verse after a fixed pattern. Unlike the poet who writes out his lines, — or even dictates them, — he cannot think without hurry about his next word, nor change what he has made, nor, before going on, read over what he has just written. Even if one wished to imagine him making his verses alone, one could not suppose the slow finding of the next word, the pondering of the verses just made, the memorizing of each verse. Even though the poet have an unusual memory, he cannot, without paper, make of his own words a poem of any length. He must have for his use word-groups all made to fit his verse and tell what he has to tell. In composing he will do no more than put together for his needs phrases which he has often heard or used himself, and which, grouping themselves in accordance with a fixed pattern of thought, come naturally to make the sentence and the verse; and he will recall his

poem easily, when he wishes to say it over, because he will be guided anew by the same play of words and phrases as before. The style of such poetry is in many ways very unlike that to which we are used. The oral poet expresses only ideas for which he has a fixed means of expression. He is by no means the servant of his diction: he can put his phrases together in an endless number of ways; but still they set bounds and forbid him the search of a style which would be altogether his own. For the style which he uses is not his at all: it is the creation of a long line of poets or even of an entire people. No one man could get together any but the smallest part of the diction which is needed for making verses orally, and which is made of a really vast number of word-groups each of which serves two ends: it expresses a given idea in fitting terms and fills just the space in the verse which allows it to be joined to the phrases which go before and after and which, with it, make the sentence. As one poet finds a phrase which is both pleasing and easily used, the group takes it up, and its survival is a further proving of these two prime qualities. It is the sum of single phrases thus found, tried, and kept which makes up the diction. Finally, the poem which is a thing of sound and not of writing is known apart from its author only because it is composed in the same style which others use and so can remember. Writing may be known, and the poem may be dictated and recorded, and the knowledge of writing may thus have some bearing on the text of the poem. But it will not have any upon its style, nor upon its form, nor upon its life in the group of poets and the social group of which its author was a part.

Such in its broadest lines is the composition of oral poetry as it is practiced in our own times in Serbia, among the Tuaregs, in Afghanistan, and in many other places;¹ and it is clear that the best way of knowing whether a style is oral and traditional is to hear it in use, or, lacking that, to compare the recorded work of several poets who have made their verses out of the same formulas. But we cannot do either

¹ Cf. F. S. Krauss, *Vom wunderbaren Guslarengedächtnis*, in *Slavische Volkforschungen* (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 183-189; A. van Gennep, *La question d'Homère* (Paris, 1909), pp. 50-55; M. Jousse, *Le Style oral rythmique et mnémotechnique chez les Verbo-moteurs* (Paris, 1925). The last work is valuable as an attempt to set forth the psychological basis of oral poetic style; it gives a bibliography of the literature on oral verse (pp. 236-240).

of these things for the Greek epic. There is too little known about the making of the early poetry in hexameters for us to liken the Singers to the Serbian Guslars without more ado, or to make of Homer a Singer like any other. Moreover, we cannot date the works of this early time at all surely, and we have nothing to show us that any one of the poems we have was made by a Singer. Opinion generally grants a vague body of traditional epic formulas, and we have a certain amount of poetry composed in a style which is either entirely or nearly like that of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; but the notion is also current that Homeric phrases found outside these two poems are more or less due to the studied imitation of the style which one poet made. We should be well off if we knew for sure that Homer could not write, but writing may have been known in Ionia in his time, whatever were the uses it was put to.¹ If we are to draw any solid conclusions

¹ Certain scholars in recent years have supposed that the Greeks wrote at a very early date. Thus, B. F. C. Atkinson (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th ed., s. v. *alphabet*) believes that the Achaeans, that is to say, the Greeks before the Dorian invasions, knew the Phoenician alphabet. A. J. B. Wace (*Cambridge Ancient History*, II, p. 463) and J. B. Bury express a view which does not accord with this: "In the Achaean age writing was an old and well-known art. . . . But it was writing without an alphabet" (*ibid.* p. 508). The evidence for the latter theory is the antiquity of the Minoan script and some undeciphered "signs," to use Bury's word (*loc. cit.*), on some vases of the Third Late Helladic Period from Thebes and Tiryns. The evidence for the early knowledge of the Phoenician alphabet is likewise circumstantial. I quote Victor Bérard (*Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssee*², Paris, 1927, I, pp. 14-15), who, after telling of the inscription in alphabetic characters discovered at Byblos in 1923 (cf. *Syria*, V (1924), pp. 135-157), which belongs surely to the thirteenth century, writes: "Ces quelques lignes feront une révolution dans la critique d'Homère et de la Bible. . . . Dès lors, il faut en tête du problème homérique poser la question préliminaire: Corneille, ayant vécu un siècle et demi après l'invention de l'imprimerie, a fait imprimer *le Cid*; peut-on croire qu'ayant vécu quatre siècles au moins — vraisemblablement six ou sept, — après l'invention de l'alphabet, les poètes de l'*Iliade* et de l'*Odyssee* ne l'aient pas connu?" On the other hand our oldest Greek inscriptions, those discovered at Thera in 1896, have been put by some in the eighth and possibly the ninth centuries (so Atkinson, *loc. cit.*); but Bury (*loc. cit.*) refuses to place them earlier than the seventh, though he supposes the Greeks to have used the alphabet since the tenth century. The problem being of this sort, it is clear that the Homeric scholar, who at present bases his conclusions upon the assumption on external evidence either of Homer's use or ignorance of writing, risks the future of his work. And besides there remain the questions of the uses to which writing was put, and of the degree to which it was known and used. Finally, there are illiterate poets in countries in which writing is fairly common,

about the style of Homer, we have only one course to follow. Seeking "the solution from the text" we must see whether the diction of the *Iliad* and of the *Odyssey* is of a sort which can be understood only as a traditional and oral technique of making verses by means of formulas. The reasoning will be as follows. First, we shall define the formula. Then we shall look to see what means there are of telling whether a formula is traditional or not. The nature of the formula will show us that the more formulas we find in a poet's diction, the smaller is the portion of them which could be the work of that single poet. We shall then be led to a study of the verse of poets who we know wrote, that we may learn how often the formula can appear in written verse. Finally, having seen if the formulas in Homer's verse are so much more common that they suffer no comparison with those of any written poetry, and having thus learned how much of the formulaic element is surely traditional, we shall be able to consider what reasons there are to say that Homer's is an oral style.

2. THE FORMULA

The formula in the Homeric poems may be defined as *a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea*. The essential part of the idea is that which remains after one has counted out everything in the expression which is purely for the sake of style. Thus, the essential idea in the word-group ἦμος δ' ἡριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως is 'when it was morning,' that in βῆ δ' ἵμεν is 'he went,' that in τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε is 'he said to him.' The word-group is employed regularly when the poet uses it without second thought as the natural means of getting his idea into verse. The definition thus implies the metrical usefulness of the formula. It is not necessary that a poet use one certain formula when he has a given idea to express and a given space

as in Serbia. The problem indeed is not at all that of whether or not writing was known in the Homeric age, but of knowing whether the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were written. It is hard to imagine what sort of external evidence could ever fix us on that point. All that we can hope to know, and all that we really need to know, is whether Homer's style is written or oral. Once this question is proposed, that of the existence, or even of the uses of writing in Homer's time loses its value.

of the verse to fill, since there can be formulas of like metrical value and meaning which can take the place of one another, though they are rare in Homer. But if a formula is to be used regularly there must be a steady need for it. For example, Homer uses *θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη* fifty times to express in the last half of the verse, after the trochaic cæsure of the third foot, the idea 'Athena.' The simple number of times the phrase appears is the direct measure of its usefulness, though if one wishes further proof a study of its uses shows it to be part of a fixed device for making hundreds of verses.¹ Kurt Witte's remark² that the language of the Homeric poems is the work of the epic verse is by definition true also of the Homeric diction so far as it is made up of formulas. When one has added the factor of the story, since it is this which gives the poet his ideas, and that of the poetic merit of the expression, which also must have its share in the making and the keeping of it, one may state the principle as follows: *the formulas in any poetry are due, so far as their ideas go, to the theme, their rhythm is fixed by the verse-form, but their art is that of the poets who made them and of the poets who kept them.*

When the element of usefulness is lacking, one does not have a formula but a repeated phrase which has been knowingly brought into the verse for some special effect. Thus, the definition excludes the refrain, as found in Aeschylus or Theocritus:

*αἶλινον αἶλινον εἶπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω . . .*³

*ἱυγξ ἔλκε τὸ τῆνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τὸν ἄνδρα,*⁴

or in Shakspeare or Marlowe:

Double, double toil and trouble,
Fire burn and cauldron bubble . . .⁵

To entertain divine Zenocrate.⁶

¹ Cf. *L'Épithète traditionnelle*, pp. 11-15.

² Pauly-Wissowa, XVI (1913), col. 2214.

³ *Agamemnon* 121, 139, 159.

⁴ Theocritus 2, 17; 22; 27; 32; 37; 42; 47; 52; 57; 63.

⁵ *Macbeth* IV, 1, 10-11; 20-21; 35-36.

⁶ Marlowe, *Tamburlaine, Part Two*, II, 4, 17; 21; 25; 29; 32.

The definition likewise excludes the echoed phrase.¹ I give examples from Theocritus and Shakspeare:

— χρήσιδεις ὦν ἐσιδεῖν; χρήσιδεις καταθεῖναι ἄεθλον;

— χρήσιδω τοῦτ' ἐσιδεῖν, χρήσιδω καταθεῖναι ἄεθλον . . .²

First Witch. — All hail, Macbeth! hail to thee, Thane of Glamis!

Second Witch. — All hail, Macbeth! hail to thee, Thane of Cawdor!

Third Witch. — All hail, Macbeth! that shalt be king hereafter!³

Non-formulaic too is the verse which is borrowed because the poet's public knows it and will recall its former use, as that in which Sophocles gives to the dying Clytemnestra the words which Agamemnon had spoken in the play by Aeschylus. I quote the verses of the older poet, then those in which they are imitated:⁴

ΑΓ. ὦμοι πέπληγμαι καιρίαν πληγὴν ἔσω.

ΧΟ. σίγα· τίς πληγὴν αὐτεῖ καιρίως οὐτασμένος;

ΑΓ. ὦμοι μάλ' αὖθις δευτέραν πεπληγμένος . . .⁵

ΚΛ. ὦμοι πέπληγμαι. ΗΛ. παῖσον εἰ σθένεις διπλὴν.

ΚΛ. ὦμοι μάλ' αὖθις.⁶

¹ For this stylistic device see B. G. Kramer, *Ueber Stichomythie und Gleichklang in den Dramen Shakespeares* (Duisburg, 1889), who quotes examples from Greek, Latin, and modern literature. Walter Raleigh in his *Milton* (London, 1900, pp. 205-208) discusses a striking case in *Paradise Lost* (IV, 641-656). It is only because they have been brought altogether wrongly into the problem of the formulas that I mention here anaphora, — the repetition of a word at the beginning of successive clauses, and polyptoton, — the repetition in a short space of different forms of the same word; both these devices are rhetorical.

² Theocritus 8, 11-12.

³ *Macbeth* I, 3, 48-50.

⁴ For other cases see F. Schroeder, *De iteratis apud tragicos Graecos*, in *Dissertationes philologicae Argentoratenses*, VI (1882), pp. 119-121, who mentions (p. 4) Virgil's use of verses from Ennius.

⁵ *Agamemnon* 1343 f.

⁶ *Electra* 1415 f. A bizarre case of this kind is given by Aristotle. Euripides, evidently to show his skill, took a verse of Aeschylus and by changing a single word added, Aristotle says, to its beauty (*Poetics* 1458b22): Αἰσχύλος μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ Φιλοκτήτῃ ἐποίησε

φαγέδαινα δ' ἣ μου σάρκας ἐσθλεί ποδός,

ὁ δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐσθλεί τὸ θοινᾶται μετέθηκεν.

Finally a poet will often repeat a phrase after an interval in order to obtain some special effect, as Sophocles does when Oedipus, fearing for the first time that he himself is the slayer of Laius, repeats in horror the words by which he had banished from the land the unknown murderer.¹

But the repeated phrase, as distinct from the formula, is used more often in less outstanding ways than these. When Bacchylides, for instance, wrote λευκώλενος Ἥρα,² or ὑψιπύλου Τροίας,³ he was not using the words because he had a certain space of verse to fill and a certain idea to express: he was working epic phrases into his poem. Similarly, Pope in his translation of the *Odyssey*⁴ borrowed Milton's phrase "thick as autumnal leaves" from the Vallombrosa simile in *Paradise Lost*. The fact that he had nothing like this in the verses he was translating shows clearly what is evident enough anyway, that he was using the phrase for its idea rather than for any help it gave him in expressing certain ideas which he was seeking to put into verse. We shall see later that no distinction counts more for us than this between the real formula and the phrase repeated for the sake of its poetic thought or wording. I have quoted these examples here because they bear on the definition of the formula.

There is one other thing to note before leaving this subject: the problem of the formula is not that of literary influence. This fact more than any other has been overlooked by those who have dealt with traditional style. When Pindar, for example, wrote:

πτερόεντα δ' ἔει γλυκύν
Πυθῶνάδ' ὀιστόν⁵

he was without doubt recalling the Homeric phrase — πτερόεντες ὀιστοί⁶ — and the Homeric influence is proved. But what was a formula to Homer was none to Pindar. The task of getting his words into his verse was quite the same as if he had been using an expression of his own making. The formula is useful only so far as it can be used without changing its metrical value. The change of endings is too easy to have

¹ *Oedipus the King* 236 ff., and 816 ff. Cf. Schroeder, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-125.

² 8, 7 (Jebb).

³ 8, 46.

⁴ Pope's *Odyssey* II, 970; *Paradise Lost* I, 302.

⁵ *Olympian Odes* (Puech) 9, 11.

⁶ E 171.

any measurable effect upon the usefulness of a phrase. One counts by the thousands in Homer such cases as the change of *ἐυκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί* to *ἐυκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς*, or of *θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων* to *θνητοὺς ἀνθρώπους*. And to these must be added the change of *δέ* to *τε*, as when *φέρων τ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα*¹ becomes *φέρω δ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα*,² or even the omission of these particles, or such a change as that of *μου* to *σου*. But any less simple alteration in the word-group supposes thought of some length on the part of the poet.³

3. THE TRADITIONAL FORMULA

The question of who made the formula does not enter into its definition, since it would be equally helpful to a poet whether it was his own work or that of another. What means then are there of knowing whether the formulas in Homer are borrowed or not, since we have no right to suppose, as the basis of our reasoning, that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are necessarily due to more than one man? The solution lies in the schematization of the Homeric style, which does away altogether with the need of knowing how many poets worked at these poems.

Formulas are of two sorts. First, there are those which have no close likeness to any other, as, so far as we know, is the case for *ὀνείαθ' ἐτοῖμα προκείμενα* in the following verse, which is found three times in the *Iliad* and eleven times in the *Odyssey*:

οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὀνείαθ' ἐτοῖμα προκείμενα χεῖρας ἱαλλον.

¹ A 13 = 372.

² Ω 502.

³ *Note on Method.* Formulas, in the strictest sense of the term, may be of any length, but in studying them we are forced to exclude the shorter word-groups, for the following reasons. If we dealt with formulas of all sizes we should have an unwieldy mass of material of varying importance, and it would be impossible to compare the formulaic element in different poets by means of the number of formulas found in their verse. In the second place, we must set a limit which will shut out any groups of words which are repeated merely by chance, or as the result of their natural order in the sentence. Accordingly I have regarded as formulas, or possible formulas, only expressions made up of at least four words or five syllables, with the exception of noun-epithet phrases, which may be shorter, as *φίλον ἦτορ* (Pindar, *Olympian Odes*, 1, 4). I have drawn the distinction at this point because of the fact that while an expression of five syllables will command the hearer's attention by

The other kind of formula is that which is like one or more which express a similar idea in more or less the same words, as, for example, *ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἔπερσε*¹ is like *ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἐλόντες*,² or as *ὀλέκοντο δὲ λαοί*³ is like *ἀρετῶσι δὲ λαοί*⁴ and *δαινυτό τε λαός*.⁵ We may say that any group of two or more such like formulas make up a system, and the system may be defined in turn as a group of phrases which have the same metrical value and which are enough alike in thought and words to leave no doubt that the poet who used them knew them not only as single formulas, but also as formulas of a certain type. For example, one finds in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* a group of phrases which all express between the beginning of the verse and the trochaic cæsure of the third foot, in words which are much alike, the idea 'but when he (we, they) had done so and so':

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ	{	δείπνησε	(twice)	αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ	{	ζέσσειν	(twice)
		κατέπανσα	(δ 583)			σπεῦσε	(3 times)
		τάρπησαν	(3 times)			τεῦξε	(twice)
		τάρπημεν	(twice)				
		παύσαντο	(3 times)				
		ἔσαντο	(3 times)				
		εὔξαντο	(4 times)			ἔλθητε	(O 147)
		ἤγερθεν	(4 times)			ἔλθουσιν	(3 times)
		ἵκανε	(ρ 28)			ἀγάγησιν	(Ω 155)
		ἵκοντο	(3 times)				
ρ,	{	ᾤπτησε	(I 215)	αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ	{		
		ἔτέλεσσε	(λ 246)				
		ἐνέηκε	(δ 233)				

This scheme shows not only that the poet or the poets of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* had a formula to express the idea 'but when they had prayed,' for instance, between the beginning of the verse and the trochaic cæsure of the third foot.⁶ It shows also that he, or they, knew

itself, one of four syllables is much less noticeable; and by insisting upon four words in a shorter phrase one puts aside almost all the chance groups of connective words.

¹ α 2.

² ι 165.

³ Α 10.

⁴ τ 114.

⁵ Ω 665.

⁶ Α 458, Β 421, γ 447, μ 359.

a type of formula in which to αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ was added an indicative verb-form of the measure $\overline{\cup} - \cup$, beginning with a single consonant; and also another type in which to αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ was joined first ῥ', one form of that helpful and many-shaped particle, then an indicative verb-form beginning with a vowel or diphthong and measured $\overline{\cup} \cup - \cup$. Thirdly, there was a type where αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ, lengthened by the addition of the syllable -δη, allowed the use of verb-forms of the value $- \cup$. And lastly, there was a type of formula in which αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ, changed to αὐτὰρ ἐπήν, made way for subjunctive forms of the verb. Each of these four groups of formulas may be called a system, since it is clear that the poet, or poets, who used them, felt the exact device, as I have taken care to analyze it, for fitting into the verse verb-forms of certain moods and measures. Finally, the four groups taken together form a larger system in which the common likeness, while less close, is no less real.

It is the system of formulas, as we shall see, which is the only true means by which we can come to see just how the Singer made his verses; but we are interested in it now solely as a means of measuring the schematization of a poet's style. There are in such a measuring two factors, that of length and that of thrift. The length of a system consists very obviously in the number of formulas which make it up. The thrift of a system lies in the degree in which it is free of phrases which, having the same metrical value and expressing the same idea, could replace one another. What the length and thrift of a system of formulas are can be best explained by describing one of the most striking cases in Homer, that of a system of noun-epithet formulas for gods and heroes, in the nominative. All the chief characters of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, if their names can be fitted into the last half of the verse along with an epithet, have a noun-epithet formula in the nominative, beginning with a simple consonant, which fills the verse between the trochaic cæsure of the third foot and the verse-end: for instance, πολὺτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς. It is the number of different formulas of this type, well above fifty, which makes the length of this system. But besides that there are, in only a very few cases, more than one such formula for a single character, though many of them are used very often, as πολὺτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς which is found 38 times, θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη 50 times, Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων 23 times. To be exact, in a list of 37 characters who have formulas of this type, which includes

all those having any importance in the poems, there are only three names which have a second formula which could replace the first.¹

In the case of this system, as in that of other formulas, such as those of the types *πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς* and *δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς*, the length and the thrift of the system are striking enough to be sure proof that only the very smallest part of it could be the work of one poet.² But for the greater number of systems which are found in the diction of the Homeric poems we cannot make such sure conclusions, since their length is rarely so great and their thrift never so striking. This does not mean that the proof by means of the length and thrift of the system is possible only in the case of the noun-epithet formulas. It is clear without need of further search that the greater part of the system quoted above must be traditional, and that the type of the formula and the words *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ* at the beginning of the verse are surely so. But one can see that an attempt made in this fashion to see just how much of Homer's diction had been handed down to him could give only very partial results, even if the task were not of an impossible length, as it is. What we must look for is, more simply, for the degree to which the diction of poetry outside the epos can become schematized. If, having gauged the systematization of Homer's verse and of that which we know to have been written in the individual style of single poets, we find a difference which forbids any comparison, we shall know that Homer's poetry was not made in the same way as was that of later poets. We shall then see that we are faced with a problem which can be solved only by granting that Homer composed his verses entirely in a style that was traditional and adapted to oral verse-making.

In making this comparison of the systems in Homer with those in later poetry we shall not, as it happens, have much to do with the thrift

¹ Cf. *L'Épithète traditionnelle*, pp. 20-22.

² Because of their unique value for the problem of the formulaic diction I give here these three systems. The formulas joined by a bracket are those which can replace one another and which must be taken from the system to keep its economy perfect, though one in each such group of formulas must be traditional since it adds to the length of the system. For these equivalent formulas see *L'Épithète traditionnelle* (Chap. V: "Les formules nom-épithète équivalentes," pp. 218-240), where it is shown that they result from the play of analogy which underlies all the traditional diction. Beside the formulas of the three types named, the following list gives those of other types which have the same measure but whose metrical value is

of the system, since we shall find it hard enough to get together outside of Homer any systems which show the first quality of length. We

changed by the initial sound — vowel, single consonant, or double consonant. An asterisk indicates that the measure of the name makes the formula impossible.

δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς	60	πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς	81	πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς	38
ἔσθλός Ὀδυσσεύς	3	ποτλίπορθος Ὀδυσσεύς	4		
Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη	39	γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη	26	θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη	50
Ὀβριμοπάτρη	2			Ἀλαλκομένης Ἀθήνη	2
δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς	34	πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς	31	ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς	21
ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς	5	μεγάθυμος Ἀχιλλεύς	1		
μητίετα Ζεὺς	18	νεφέληγερέτα Ζεὺς	30	πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε	15
εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς	14	Ζεὺς τερπικέραυνος	4	Ὀλύμπιος εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς	1
		στεροπηγερέτα Ζεὺς	1		
πότνια Ἥρη	11	λευκώλενος Ἥρη	3	βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη	11
		χρυσόθρονος Ἥρη	1	θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη	19
φαίδιμος Ἑκτωρ	29	κορυθαίολος Ἑκτωρ	25	μέγας κορυθαίολος Ἑκτωρ	12
ὄβριμος Ἑκτωρ	4				
χάλκεος Ἀρης	5	χρυσήνιος Ἀρης	1	βριήπνος ὄβριμος Ἀρης	1
ὄβριμος Ἀρης	5			Ἀρης αἶτος πολέμοιο	3
Τυδεὺς υἱός	8	κρατερὸς Διομήδης	12	βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης	21
		ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης	1		
*		κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων	26	ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων	37
Κυανοχαίτης	1	κρείων ἐνοσίχθων	7	Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων	23
Ἑρνοσίγαιος	1	κλυτὸς ἐρνοσίγαιος	7		
*		Πρίαμος θεοειδής	1	γέρων Πρίαμος θεοειδής	7
φαίδιμος Αἴας	6	Τελαμώνιος Αἴας	10	μέγας Τελαμώνιος Αἴας	12
ἄλκιμος Αἴας	2				
δῖ' Ἀφροδίτη	4	χρυσήν Ἀφροδίτη	1	Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη	7
				φιλομμείδης Ἀφροδίτη	4
Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων	33	Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων	2	ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων	5
		ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων	6	ἄναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων	3
		κλυτότοξος Ἀπόλλων	1		
*		ξανθὸς Μενέλαος	12	βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος	13
		Μενέλαος ἀμύμων	1	ἄρηίφιλος Μενέλαος	6
ἵπποτα Νέστωρ	1			Γερήνιος ἵπποτα Νέστωρ	31
		πόδας ὠκέα Ἴρις	10	ποδήνεμος ὠκέα Ἴρις	10
*		*		*	
				Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής	10

shall seldom get any farther than the overwhelming difference in the number of repetitions. Since this is the case, it is well to point out beforehand that the number of repetitions in a style, and the frequency with which they are used, bear directly upon the thrift of the diction. One may ask why Homer uses the formula αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἵκοντο three times.¹ That is one face of the coin. The other face is the question of why Homer did not use other words, of whatever sort they might be, for the expression of the idea 'but when they came.' That is, the repeated use of a phrase means not only that the poet is following a fixed pattern of words, it means equally that he is denying himself all other ways of expressing the idea. This may seem a very trivial point to make, if one has in mind only a few scattered formulas, none of them used more than a few times. But when one has even a single phrase used, for instance as is τὸν (τήν) δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα, 48 times in the *Iliad* and 24 times in the *Odyssey*, it is as if Homer wished to tell us how little use he has for all other ways of expressing the idea, which we must suppose to be very numerous. Then, when one multiplies the case of the single formula by all those which are to be found in the two poems, and which require the 250 pages of C. E. Schmidt's *Parallel-Homer*² for their listing, one has the statement of a thrift of expression which it is rather hard, perhaps, for us to understand. Yet we must remember, as in the following pages we seek for formulas in later verse, that the poet's indifference to the new way of saying a thing is to be measured in the exact terms of the number of repetitions he uses and of the times he uses them.

There are also many other formulas of these types for less important characters. If any character who has a rôle of any prominence in the poems does not appear on this list, it is because the metrical value of the name is an absolute barrier to the creation of such formulas. Such are the names, Ἀντίλοχος, Αὐτομέδων, Ἑλένη, Εὐρύπυλος, Ἴδομενεύς, Πουλυδάμας, Σαρπηδών, Ἀλκίνοος (but μένος Ἀλκινόοιο), Ἀντίνοος, Εὐρύμαχος, Τηλέμαχος (but Ὀδυσσεύος φίλος υἱός). Ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Αἰνείας is found once, when Homer was led by the force of analogy to create a formula of the type ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων; but in no other case does he use this name, with its three long syllables, at the verse-end.

¹ A 484, ρ 85, 178.

² Göttingen, 1885.

4. THE FORMULA OUTSIDE HOMER

Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns, the Fragments of the Early Epic

P. F. Kretschmer, in his study of repetitions¹ within the work of Hesiod,² found within the 1022 verses of the *Theogony* 338 repetitions of which the larger part are phrases found in Homer. This proportion does not come near that of the twenty-five or six thousand repetitions³ in Homer's 27853 or so verses, nor would one look for it in poems of such different lengths. Still it is far above anything we shall find for the poetry of times in which writing was beyond any doubt the usual means of composition. We find in Hesiod even more repetitions from poetry which could not be his. A. Rzach⁴ notes 67 cases in the first 100 lines of the *Theogony* where a phrase is identical with one found in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. The number of repetitions within the *Works and Days* is smaller — 84 in a poem of 828 verses.⁵ For the first hundred lines Rzach notes 55 Homeric parallels, but in the gnomic portion of the poem this number falls to 31 in a hundred lines.⁶ But even this figure is far from any which is ever found outside the early hexametric poetry. It is not the place here to explain the varying degrees of repetition within the Hesiodic poems, nor the use of Homeric phrases. That will be possible only in a longer study in which one will throw aside the idea of imitation, which has weighed so heavily on the early poetry outside Homer, and take up the repetitions as part of a traditional technique of verse-making. One will then learn, I believe, a great deal about the nature of the epic diction, of its use for different subjects, and by different poets or schools of poets, and of its decline. Here we can only point out that the formula is used in Hesiod far more often than it ever is outside of the early epic; and the same thing is to be said for the *Shield of Heracles*, which in its 480 verses repeats itself 63 times,⁷ and has in its first hundred

¹ It is important to note that the terms *repetition*, *repeated phrase* and *repeated expression*, etc., when used in this study always imply that the word-groups in question are alike not only in words but also in metrical value. When the word *phrase* or *expression* is used in connection with repetition, in the sense of a more general similarity, I have taken care to explain the use of the term.

² *De iteratis Hesiodeis* (Vratislaviae, 1913), p. 29.

³ I compute this figure from Schmidt's *Parallel-Homer*.

⁴ *Hesiodi Carmina* (Leipzig, 1902), pp. 1-19.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 127-145.

⁶ vv. 202 ff.

⁷ Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

lines 74 Homeric phrases,¹ as well as for certain of the *Hymns* and for the fragments of the other early heroic poems. T. W. Allen, for instance, states that 20 verses of the *Hymn to Aphrodite* "are taken from Homer with little or no variation,"² and I find seven Homeric phrases in a ten-line fragment of the *Thebais*.³

*The Elegiac Poetry*⁴

N. Riedy found in Solon 48 phrases repeated without change from the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* or the *Hymns*; ⁵ of these all but one are found in the 221 elegiac verses of this poet. There are none in his iambics. This makes about 21 epic phrases to a hundred verses, a figure fairly near that found for the gnomic part of the *Works and Days*. In the 932 verses of Theognis which Bergk thought genuine R. Küllenberg found 144 phrases repeated from Homer, Hesiod, or the *Hymns*, which would be about fifteen epic phrases to a hundred verses.⁶ No one has studied the shorter repetitions within the elegiac poetry, but Küllenberg remarks that in the hexameter the elegy follows the epic.⁷ So here too the formulaic element must be studied as a part of the traditional diction of the early verse in hexameters. But Küllenberg also states that the elegy follows itself in the pentameter. He quotes in proof 18 phrases, all found in the last half of the pentameter, which appear in the work of the elegiac poets a total of 99 times.⁸ Moreover, certain of the systems into which these phrases fall are

¹ Rzach, *op. cit.*, pp. 273-282. ² *Homeric Hymns* (London, 1904), p. 197.

³ Fr. 2 (Kinkel). αὐτὰρ ὁ διογενὴς (Φ 17); παρέθηκε τράπεζαν (ε 92); αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα (Γ 273); δέπας ἠδέος οἴνου (γ 51); αὐτὰρ ὁ γ' ὥς (M 40); πατὴρ ἐοῖο (B 662); ἔμπεσε θυμῶι (Ξ 207).

⁴ The figures which I give for unaltered Homeric phrases in the elegiac poets are based upon the lists which Riedy and Küllenberg made of verbal likenesses of any sort between Solon and Theognis on the one hand, and Homer on the other, without limiting themselves, as we must do, to those cases in which the word-groups are not only alike, but also have the same metrical value and are of at least a certain length. The figures given in the following pages for Pindar, Bacchylides, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Theocritus and Kyd have all been gotten by a like method. I have been able to utilize more directly the lists of Kretschmer and Rzach for Hesiod, and of Albrecht for Virgil.

⁵ *Solonis elocutio quatenus pendeat ab exemplo Homeri* (Munich, 1903).

⁶ *De imitatione Theognidea* (Argéntorati, 1877).

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 50-53.

long enough to show the traditional character of the greater part of the expressions which make them up, as in the following example:

Solon 3, 6; Theognis 194	χρήμασι	} πειθόμενος (-οι, -ων)
Solon 1, 12; 3, 11; Theognis 380	ἔργμασι	
Theognis 948	ἀνδράσι	
Theognis 756	σώφρονι	
Theognis 1152; Simonides 92a, 2	ρήμασι	
Simonides 107b, 2	λήματι	

Such a large number of formulas and systems of this sort are found outside the hexameter only in this one place, and, if we knew surely that writing was the regular means for the composition of verse in the sixth century, there would very likely be no need of carrying our search any farther. But we do not. The example of Serbian poetry shows that traditional dictions can exist side by side for different verse-forms and for different types of poetry, and the doubt which hangs over the sources of Theognis's poem would point to anything but an originally written text. A study of the elegy, which kept in view the possibility that its style was in a larger or smaller measure oral and traditional, might explain the very many verses and passages in Theognis which some editors have given to Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus, and Solon, because they are found, in more or less the same form, in their work as well.¹ If this small amount of poetry we have is at all typical, the common element in the elegy was very large. The conclusions of such a study, however, could have only a limited value for our own problem: it is hard to see how it could prove that Solon and Theognis first wrote out their verses, and though it would doubtless confirm Küllenberg's idea that there was a formulaic element in elegiac style, common to all poets, there are other ways of showing this to be true for Homer.

The Choral Poetry

When Riedy² remarks that in Solon epic formulas are about twice as frequent in the hexameter as they are in the pentameter, and when Küllenberg says that the last half of the pentameter has formulas

¹ See E. Harrison, *Studies in Theognis* (Cambridge, 1902), pp. 100-134.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 51 f.

found only in elegy, they are dealing with a fact which has been strangely overlooked, namely, that the formula can be useful only in the smallest degree in any other sort of verse than that for which it was made: the nature of the hexameter is such that only a small part of the epic formulas are found in more than one place in the verse; likewise one will hardly hope to find many of them in a verse-form in which the sequence of longs and shorts and the length of the kola are only rarely those of the epic verse. The one case in Solon's work of an Homeric phrase which is not found in elegy occurs in a skolion which may or may not be his:¹

πεφυλαγμένος ἄνδρα ἕκαστον ὄρα.

Here the strong dactylic movement of the verse gives to the participle, and to ἄνδρα ἕκαστον, something of the movement we find in the Homeric line:

λίσσῃθ' ὑπὲρ τοκέων γουνούμενος ἄνδρα ἕκαστον.²

It is surely not a very striking phrase, and one would be tempted to say it was only due to chance, if it were not for the hiatus which makes it certain that it was taken from the epic, for like μέλανος οἶνοιο in the fragment of the epic poet Antimachus, it shows a sense for the lost digamma of the epic phrase similar to that of the feeling of the French for 'h-aspiré.'³ But such likeness in rhythm between epic and lyric can only rarely happen. H. Schultz⁴ gives 52 cases in which Pindar has copied a phrase of the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, of which, it is well to note, 48 are made up of two words, and the remaining four of three words: the rhythm barred out all longer Homeric expressions. Yet of these 52 there are only 19 which Pindar could use as he found them.⁵ In the

¹ *Scolia anonyma* 32 (Diehl); cf. I. M. Linforth, *Solon the Athenian* (Berkeley, 1919), p. 226.

² O 660.

³ Antimachus fr. 19, 1 (Kinkel); ε 265, ι 196, ι 346; cf. M. Parry, *Les formules et la métrique d'Homère* (Paris, 1928), p. 55. There is a list of the frequent cases of this sort in Apollonius in the edition of G. W. Mooney (Dublin, 1912), pp. 416-421.

⁴ *De elocutionis Pindaricae colore epico* (Göttingen, 1905), pp. 13, 31-33.

⁵ They are: *Olympian* 1, 71 (= *Pythian* 2, 68 = *Isthmian* 4, 56) πολιᾶς ἀλός (μ 180); 1, 1 αἰθόμενον πῦρ (Π 293); 1, 4 φίλον ἦτορ (Γ 31); 3, 33 γλυκὺς ἥμερος (Γ 446); 6, 20 μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμόσαι (κ 299); 6, 25 ὁδὸν ἀγεμονεῦσαι (ξ 261); 10, 15 χάλκεος

case of the others he had to change the order of his words, or use them in other forms which would give them a new rhythm. They even then show the influence of the epic upon Pindar, but they do not show that he was helped in any way, since these words were no easier to work into his verse than any others which he might find himself. The number of phrases which Bacchylides took from Homer without change is equally small: H. Buss found eleven, all of two words.¹

There is no need of pointing out that so few formulas in the work of Pindar and Bacchylides could have had no measurable effect on the way in which they made their verses; but besides that it is only too clear that these repeated phrases are not formulas. They are all of them high-sounding expressions which the poet has been able to work into his verse, as for example φίλον ἦτορ in the first of the *Olympian Odes*:

εἰ δ' ἄεθλα γαρεύεν
ἔλδεαι, φίλον ἦτορ,
μηκέθ' ἀλίου σκόπει. . . .²

Both the meaning and the movement of φίλον ἦτορ are here very far from those which Homer has made familiar to us:

ὥς φάτο, τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ λύτο γούνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ . . .³

ὥς ἔφατ', αὐτὰρ ἐμοί γε κατεκλάσθη φίλον ἦτορ.⁴

Even in what may be the most Homeric of all the Pindaric imitations, that of a phrase of three words in an ode in dactylo-epitritic metre, the words which go before and after rob the phrase of much of its Homeric sound:

"*Ἀρης* (E 704); 12, 5, ἀγοραὶ βουλαφόροι (ι 112); *Pythian* 2, 89 μέγα κῦδος (Θ 176); 4, 174 κλέος ἐσλόν (E 3); 10, 27 χάλκεος οὐρανός (P 425); *Nemean* 1, 37 χρυσόθρονον Ἥραν (A 611); 10, 9 πολέμοιο νέφος (P 243); 10, 56 ὑπὸ κέυθει γαίης (X 482); 10, 64 μέγα ἔργον (ω 426); 10, 71 ψολόεντα κεραυνόν (ψ 330); fr. ad. 38 (Puech) νήπια βάζεις (δ 32); fr. ad. 51 φίλα τέκνα (B 315); fr. ad. 96 ναὶ θαῖ (A 389).

¹ *De Bacchylide Homeri imitatore* (Giessen, 1913), pp. 20-22, 41-42. They are: 5, 139 βούλευσεν ὀλεθρον (Ξ 464); 8, 7 λευκώλενος Ἥρα (Θ 484); 8, 46 ὑψιπύλου Τροίας (Π 698); 9, 43 τόξον τιταίνει (Θ 266); 10, 87 φάσγανον ἄμφακες (K 256); 12, 64 κύνειον νέφος (Ψ 188); 12, 128 φαεσιμβρότωι Ἀοῖ (Ω 785); 12, 195 μεγάλθυμος Ἀθάνα (θ 520); 15, 7 φρένα τερπόμενος (I 186); fr. 3, 10 μελίφρων ὕπνος (B 34); fr. 18, 1 λαίονον οὐδόν (θ 80).

² v. 3 ff.

³ Φ 114 = δ 703 = ψ 205.

⁴ δ 481 = 538 = κ 496.

οὔτε δύσηρις ἔων οὔτ'
 ὦν φιλόνηκος ἄγαν
 καὶ μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμόσσαις
 τοῦτό γέ οἱ σαφέως
 μαρτυρήσω.¹

In Homer we had:

ἀλλ' ἔκ τοι ἔρέω καὶ ἐπὶ μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμοῦμαι . . .²
 εἰ μή μοι τλαίης γε θεὰ μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμόσσαι.³

Far from being formulas by which he would regularly express his idea under certain metrical conditions, these phrases were to him fine expressions which his mind had kept solely for their beauty, and which the chance of his verse now let him use. One would not deny all usefulness to them, since they did after all fit into his verse, but that is exactly the usefulness of any phrase which goes to make up any poem.

Since, then, it is not the epic at least which gave the choral poet what Wilamowitz calls "ein ganzer Apparat von konventionellen Wendungen und Schmuckstücken zu Gebote, so dass er noch leichter als der Rhapsode den einfachsten Gedanken nach Bedarf variieren und dehnen kann,"⁴ this conventional element in the style must be the work of the choral poets themselves. But Wilamowitz is surely mistaken here, for how could there be such a body of phrases for a poetry in which the order of long and short syllables in the verse varies with every poem? In ten pages of the concordance to Pindar there is not one repeated phrase, whereas not a column of the Homeric concordances but teems with them.⁵ A comparison of the diction of Bacchylides with that of Pindar gives the same results. W. K. Prentice⁶ gives

¹ *Olympian Odes* 6, 18 ff.

² A 233.

³ ε 178 = κ 343.

⁴ *Die griechische Literatur des Altertums in Die griechische und lateinische Literatur und Sprache*³ (Leipzig, 1912), p. 48.

⁵ H. E. Bindseil, *Concordantiae omnium vocum carminum integrorum et fragmentorum Pindari* (Berlin, 1875); G. L. Prendergast, *Concordance to the Iliad* (London, 1875); H. Dunbar, *Concordance to the Odyssey and Hymns of Homer* (Oxford, 1880).

⁶ *De Bacchylide Pindari artis socio et imitatore* (Halis Saxonum, 1910), pp. 35 ff.

72 cases in which there is some sort of likeness between the words of the two poets, as in these verses of Pindar and of Bacchylides:

σὺν βαθυζώνοισιν ἀγγέλλων
Τελεσικράτη Χαρίτεσσι γεγωνεῖν . . .¹

ἧι σὺν Χαρίτεσσι βαθυζώνοις ὑφάνας
ῥυμνον . . .²

Such an example as this well shows the influence of the one poet on the other, or the use of ideas common to the poetry; but only in one of the 72 cases, in which the phrase is used without change — *ταῖς ἱεραῖς Ἀθάναις* in Pindar³ and *τῶν ἱερῶν Ἀθανῶν* in Bacchylides⁴ — did the older poet spare the younger the trouble of making the expression over for his own needs.

Indeed, it seems to me that one gives a very wrong idea of the style of choral poetry in likening its conventional side to that of the epic. Homer is telling the old tales in words which his hearers scarcely heeded as they followed the story, for those words were to them the only ones which could be used, and they knew them far too well to think about them. But Pindar is moving alone in his own thought, choosing in a way that is his alone from the grand words of poetry. There is of course much that is traditional in his verse: he uses the old words, and follows a more or less fixed order of thought, and uses the old tales, and points the moral. Nor did he scorn the common devices, such as that of passing from one part of his theme to another by means of a relative clause, nor fail to use an epithet to fill his verse when that would help him, as Lucian charged the lyric poets with doing.⁵ Tradition gave him these artifices, but it did not give him his phrases. These he must choose, and if he would use an epithet he must think and pick.⁶ We shall find in later verse what may be, per-

¹ *Pythian Odes* 9, 2.

² Bacchylides 5, 9.

³ *Dithyrambs* fr. 4, 4.

⁴ 17, 1.

⁵ *Timon* 1.

⁶ The failure to see that the epithet gave very different degrees of help to Homer and to the later poets comes from not seeing that it is the ornamental epithet alone that has a permanent usefulness — that is to say, an epithet which can be used without any reference to the idea of the verse or the passage. The ornamental epithet, in turn, is possible only in a style in which its constant recurrence in company with a certain noun has dulled the attention of the public to its meaning (see

haps, a small number of formulas, but it will be in verse in which the order of shorts and longs is fixed and recurring. Pindar, ever faced with a new metrical need, however often he might use his ideas again, could make good or bad sentences, but they must be his own. If we admire the epic style as a thing beyond the forces of a single man, we must wonder at the use that Pindar alone could make of words.

*Attic Tragedy*¹

Since the verse of drama is dactylic even less often than that of the choral lyric, it contains still fewer Homeric phrases. Of the 112 passages in Aeschylus given by Susan B. Franklin as showing epic phrasing, there are only three in which the words have been left unchanged.² All three cases occur in the lyrics. Max Lechner found five examples in Sophocles of the unchanged Homeric phrase, likewise in lyric metres,³ and in Euripides eight,⁴ to which I can add two that he has overlooked. Of these ten expressions seven occur in lyrics, the other

M. Parry, *The Homeric Gloss* in *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LIX (1928), pp. 235-247), and accordingly, it can exist only as a fixed part of a formulaic diction. The epithet which can have a bearing upon the thought of the sentence where it appears presents the problem of choice and thus loses by far the greater part of its usefulness. Cf. *L'Épithète traditionnelle* (Chap. IV: "Le sens distinctif de l'épithète dans l'épos," pp. 146-217), where I discuss the Homeric and the Pindaric epithets.

¹ The references in the tragic poets are to the following editions: *Aeschylus* ed. P. Mazon (Paris, 1920-5); *Sophocles* ed. P. Masqueray (Paris, 1922-24); *Euripides* ed. G. Murray (Oxford, 1901-1909).

² *Traces of Epic Influence in the Tragedies of Aeschylus* (Baltimore, 1895), pp. 69-76. The unaltered Homeric phrases are: *Suppliants* 350 πέτρας ἡλιβάτους (Π 35); 663 ἦβας ἄνθος (N 484); *Persians* 80 ισόθεος φώς (B 565). Cf. Max Lechner, *De Aeschyli studio Homérico* (Erlangen, 1862).

³ *De Sophocle poeta* 'Ομηρικωτάτωι (Erlangen, 1859), pp. 23-25. The unaltered Homeric phrases are: *Ajax* 146 αἰθωνι σιδήρωι (Δ 485); 175 βοῦς ἀγελαίας (Ψ 846); *Electra* 167 οἶτον ἔχουσα (I 563); *Oedipus at Colonus* 706 γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνα (Λ 206); fr. 432, 1 (Nauck) ἀετὸς ὑψιπέτας (M 201).

⁴ *De Homeri imitatione Euripidea* (Erlangen, 1864), pp. 17-23. The unaltered Homeric phrases from the lyrics are: *Alcestis* 742 μέγ' ἀρίστη (B 82); *Medea* 425 ὥπασε θέσπιν ἀοιδάν (θ 498); *Suppliants* 80 ἀλιβάτου πέτρας (O 273); *Trojan Women* 193 νεκίων ἀμνηρόν (κ 251); *Orestes* 1256 φοίνιον αἶμα (σ 97); *Iphigenia at Aulis* 202 θαῦμα βροτοῖσιν (λ 287); 175 ξανθὸν Μενέλαον (Γ 284). The Homeric phrases in the elegy of the *Andromache* are: v. 103 Ἰλίωι αἰπεινᾶι (O 558); v. 109 ἐπὶ θίνα θαλάσσης (β 260); v. 115 περὶ χεῖρε βαλοῦσα (λ 211).

three are found within a space of twelve verses, for a reason. Andromache, just before the first entry of the chorus in the play which bears her name, ceases to speak in trimeters, which so far have made up the play, and breaks into a lament in elegiac verse. In this passage of fourteen lines, which is the only example we have of elegy in tragedy, Euripides was seeking an epic tone, and to this end he used an unusually large number of Homer's words, and half as many of his phrases as he did in all the rest of his dramas. Moreover, all three phrases occur in the hexameters of the distichs, — so friendly was this verse to the epic diction, whereas the iambic and trochaic lines rejected it altogether!

But though we have fewer Homeric phrases in tragedy than in choral poetry, we may well look for tragic formulas. Here are poets using more or less the same style, and the same kind of stories, and, finally, giving the first place in their plays to the same verse-form. The irregular rhythms which kept choral verse free from formulas have here a limited place. A. B. Cook,¹ without attempting completeness, but implying that he gives all the more evident cases, cites 23 passages in Euripides's *Trojan Women* which recall the wording of the *Hecuba* which appeared ten years earlier; in nine of these parallels we find expressions which are repeated without change. F. Niedzballa² gives a list, which seems to be inclusive, of repetitions within the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus; of these fifteen are unaltered. F. Schroeder, however, furnishes by far the most ample evidence of repetition without change within the work of a tragic poet:³ he gives 297 different cases within the plays of Euripides, all but six of them in the trimeters. Of these phrases 48 are used three times, 13 four times, 4 five times, one six times, and one seven times. This makes 392 cases in which an expression appears which the poet has employed before. The first appearance of course cannot be counted, since a phrase cannot become a formula until it has been used more than once; and since the greater number of expressions are repeated only once, we can be sure that all but a very few of them are really being used for the first time in the first of the extant plays in which they appear. To this

¹ *Unconscious Iterations in Classical Review*, XVI (1902), pp. 151-153.

² *De copia verborum et elocutione Promethei Vincti q. f. Aeschyleae* (Vratislaviae, 1913), p. 56.

³ *De iteratis apud tragicos Graecos*.

number of 392 may be added 91 other cases of borrowing from the work of Aeschylus and Sophocles, making a total of 483 repetitions. This may seem at first a very large proportion; certain scholars have cited far fewer repetitions in later verse as a final proof that Homer's use of formulas was no different from that of modern poets. Yet this number straightway loses its importance when one computes the average number of lines between these repetitions, and between those which we find in Homer, for we then see that Euripides is repeating himself, or borrowing, in every fortieth iambic verse,¹ whereas Homer, if we discount likewise the first appearance of the phrase, is doing so in more than every other verse. Nor is the objection at all sound that most of Attic tragedy is lost, and that if we had it all the number of repetitions would be much larger; the 91 phrases which Euripides took from Aeschylus and Sophocles would have to be multiplied many times before they would change our conclusions, and one would also have to suppose other poems for Homer's time. In a stylistic study small statistical differences have little value: one must use the strictest method of search, but the differences found must be large enough to be beyond the reach of any imaginable faults in method. Whether we suppose that Euripides used a repeated phrase in every thirtieth, or every twentieth verse, it could never be more than an expression put into his verses from time to time. There is not the least reason to suppose, as there is for Homer, that he made any considerable part of his poetry out of them. As for the possible conclusion that Homer could have made as many formulas by himself as Euripides, that is, one for every 36 or so that were handed down to him,² I do not think that that will please those who dislike the notion that Homer's style is not more or less his own. But it is time at this point to remind ourselves that we are, in these calculations, supposing that the repeated phrases in Euripides are all formulas. We may very well find that they are not at all the regular means of expressing an idea under certain metrical conditions, but phrases which the poet brought into his work a second time because he could obtain some special effect by them.

¹ In the extant plays of Euripides and the fragments given in Nauck's edition are 19,723 whole iambic trimeters.

² The figure is based on Schmidt's *Parallel-Homer*.

We pass now from the mere frequency of the repetitions in tragedy to their nature, and it may be well to say here that our purpose is much more than that of showing that the number of tragic formulas is much smaller even than the number of repetitions, which is already too small to have any bearing on the epic practice. The one thing which we are seeking to know is what the formula is: its higher frequency in Homer cannot in itself have any great value for us until it leads us to see that frequency is a quality of the formula. The study of the character of the repetitions in tragedy, by showing us just why they are not more frequent, will help us to this understanding.

We may begin with the five cases which Schroeder found of a phrase which appears unchanged in the work of all three tragic poets. One of these expressions is no more than a poetic locution: ὑπουργῆσαι χάριν¹ for the prosaic χαρίσασθαι. Δόμων ἐφέστιος² is also highly poetic, and πρὸς τὰς παρούσας συμφοράς³ and τῆς νῦν παρούσης πημονῆς⁴ have a more than usual dignity of statement, but besides this the three phrases express ideas which are more than usually striking. The idea of τὸν παρόντα δαίμονα,⁵ used by Aeschylus of fate, and by the other two poets of a particular fate, that of death, is of a force which calls for no comment. We find, then, that the repeated phrases common to the three writers are either especially poetic in wording or highly dramatic in thought. To bring out the meaning of this last term we must have more examples. In passing, then, to the phrases found in only two of the poets, there is hardly need of saying that the rarity of the cases we have just quoted disproves the existence of any body of formulas common to tragic poetry, and makes the question of the phrases found in the work of more than one tragic poet purely that of the influence of a dramatist.

Schroeder⁶ lists 29 different phrases found both in Aeschylus and

¹ Aeschylus, *Prometheus* 635; Sophocles, fr. 314; Euripides, *Alcestis* 842.

² Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 577, 669; Sophocles, *Trachiniae* 262; Euripides, *Medea* 713.

³ Aeschylus, *Prometheus* 1000; Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 885; Euripides, *Hippolytus* 483.

⁴ Aeschylus, *Prometheus* 471; Sophocles, *Electra* 939; Euripides, *Helen* 509.

⁵ Aeschylus, *Persians* 825; Sophocles, *Electra* 1306, *Tyro* fr. 587, 1; Euripides, *Alcestis* 561.

⁶ *De iteratis apud tragicos Graecos*, pp. 91-101.

in Euripides, all of which appear once in the work of the older poet, and of which three appear twice in Euripides, two four times, and one six times. He finds 34 different phrases which Euripides took from Sophocles, of which three appear twice in Euripides, two three times, and one four times. These figures check with those of others. Thus F. Niedzballa¹ gives a list of phrases repeated from Aeschylus's *Prometheus*, of which fourteen occur in the work of Sophocles, and fifteen in that of Euripides. M. L. Earle,² in a study in which he sought to prove the influence of the *Alcestis* of Euripides on the *Women of Trachis* of Sophocles, found one repetition: καὶ συνωφρυνόμενος.³ To this must be added another given by Schroeder: ἄλῃς γὰρ ἡ παροῦσα.⁴ Here again the evidence is overwhelming: to judge from the plays which we possess, Euripides uses an expression from Aeschylus or Sophocles in every 215 or so iambic verses.

When one looks at the phrases Euripides has thus chosen, it is straightway clear that almost none of them belong to the more general level of the style: either their wording is more than usually poetic, or their thought highly dramatic. As examples of the first kind one notes ὥστε ναὸς κεδνὸς οἰακοστρόφος,⁵ — Pindar seems to have been the first to use οἰακοστρόφος for οἰακονόμος;⁶ πράσσε τὰ πεσταλμένα;⁷ πόλεμον αἵρεσθαι μέγαν;⁸ συνάψας μηχανήν.⁹ These expressions Euripides took from Aeschylus. From Sophocles he took μωρίαν ὀφλισκάνω,¹⁰ and τοῦτο κηλητήριον,¹¹ — he is the only other author to use this poetic adjective. In the greater number of cases, however, the phrase is rather what must be called a specific dramatic device. We must consider here the essential difference between epic and drama. The epic contains a good

¹ *De copia verborum Promethei Vincti*, pp. 55-61.

² *Studies in Sophocles's Trachinians*, in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* XXXIII (1902), pp. 5-29.

³ *Alcestis* 777, 800; *Women of Trachis* 869.

⁴ *Alcestis* 673; *Women of Trachis* 332.

⁵ *Seven against Thebes* 62; *Medea* 523.

⁶ *Isthmian Odes* 4, 72.

⁷ *Libation Bearers* 779; *Trojan Women* 1149.

⁸ *Suppliants* 439; *Alexander* fr. 51.

⁹ *Agamemnon* 1609; *Helen* 1034.

¹⁰ *Antigone* 470; *Alcestis* 1093, *Iphigenia in the Tauric Land* 488.

¹¹ *Women of Trachis* 575; *Hecuba* 535.

deal of speech, which, in its way, comes very near to drama in its direct imitation by action, and often, to make this imitation effective, the epic poet uses formulas made especially for this end. Such formulas are of various sorts. They may express indignation at some sight:

ὦ πόποι ἦ μέγα θαῦμα τόδ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρῶμαι.¹

They may set forth the clash of opinions:

ποιόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων.²

They sometimes imitate the tone of one threatening:

ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆισιν.³

Less often they may be of a less purely emotional tone, giving the intention of the speaker, as in

σῆμα δέ τοι ἐρέω μάλ' ἀριφραδές, οὐδέ σε λήσει.⁴

Of this dramatic sort too are the verses which comment on a situation, and which Homer, refusing to let himself enter his poem, always gives as the opinion of a character in regard to some certain event: ⁵

αἰδομένων ἀνδρῶν πλέονες σόοι ἢ πέφανται.⁶

What all these formulas I have quoted have in common is that they are the character's expression of what is going on in his mind, rather than the poet's statement of what a character did, which is the nature of narrative. Now the epic being far more narrative than dramatic, the dramatic formulas have only a very small place beside those which tell the tale. But the dramatic poet, giving us characters who think and feel before us, needs expressions of this sort far more than any other.

Accordingly we find that the repetitions in tragedy which are not stylistic are almost all special devices for supplying the dramatic ele-

¹ N 99, O 286, T 344, Φ 54.

² Δ 350, Ξ 83, α 64, ε 22, τ 492, ψ 70.

³ Δ 39, E 259, II 444, 851, λ 454, π 281, 299, ρ 548, τ 236, 495, 570.

⁴ Ψ 326, λ 126.

⁵ Cf. Aristotle, *Poetics* 1460a5 ff.; and T. Stickney, *Les sentences dans la poésie grecque d'Homère à Euripide* (Paris, 1903), pp. 25-49.

⁶ E 531, O 563.

ment. In one of the three cases in which Euripides has taken almost a whole line from Sophocles we have a means whereby a character expresses despair, as Electra does in the play of Sophocles:

ἀπωλόμην δύστηνος· οὐδέν εἰμ' ἔτι.¹

So Hecuba speaks in Euripides:

ἀπωλόμην δύστηνος· οὐκέτ' εἰμὶ δῆ.²

In another case the repeated verse is one by which, in the rapid give and take of angry talk, one character bids another ask his question. Sophocles wrote:

λέγ', εἴ τι χρήνεις· καὶ γὰρ οὐ σιγηλὸς εἶ.³

Euripides changed only one word of this:

λέγ', εἴ τι βούλη· καὶ γὰρ οὐ σιγηλὸς εἶ.⁴

Both verses, of course, are found in stichomythy. An example of the phrase by which we know the speaker's intention is this verse from Aeschylus:

βραχεῖ δὲ μύθῳ πάντα συλλήβδην μάθε.⁵

In Euripides this becomes:

βραχεῖ δὲ μύθῳ πολλὰ συλλαβῶν ἐρῶ.⁶

Very frequent among the phrases Euripides borrowed are those in which a character expresses himself by a nice use of language, as in the words which Euripides took from Sophocles: ἐκόντες οὐκ ἄκοντες,⁷ and τὰ τ' ὄντα καὶ μέλλοντα.⁸ Sophocles in turn took a verse from Euripides and did not trouble to change it at all:

ὦ φίλτατ' ἐποῦσ', εἰ λέγεις ἐτήτυμα.⁹

If the only repeated phrases in Homer were those of the dramatic sort which we have quoted, and if they did not appear too often, so that we could be sure that the poet's hearers were always very much

¹ *Electra* 677.

² *Hecuba* 683.

³ *Women of Trachis* 416.

⁴ *Suppliants* 567.

⁵ *Prometheus* 505.

⁶ *Erechtheus* fr. 364, 5.

⁷ *Oedipus the King* 1230; *Children of Heracles* 531, *Andromache* 357.

⁸ *Electra* 1498; *Helen* 14.

⁹ *Ion* 1488; *Philoctetes* 1290.

struck by them, we should have no need to seek the difference between epic and tragic repetitions. But in Homer these formulas have only the smallest place beside those which make up the narrative, or even the speeches, and many of them are so frequent that it is doubtful whether their dramatic effect would ever have set them much apart from the more usual level of the style. It is otherwise for Euripides: almost all of his repeated expressions are especially forceful, and, rarely used more than once, they are always sure of their effect. They are, then, not a regular means of expressing the idea but a body of outstanding dramatic artifices. There is almost nothing in them to show that Euripides, in order to make the composition of his verses easier, was limiting his thought to the diction created by others.

Voltaire was doing very much as Euripides had done, when, in his *Oedipe*, he borrowed two verses from the play of that name by Corneille:

Ce monstra à voix humaine, aigle, femme, et lion. . . .

[Il vit, et le sort qui l'accable]

Des morts et des vivants semble le séparer.

Voltaire felt called upon to give his reasons for thus using the lines of another: "Je n'ai point fait scrupule de voler ces deux vers, parce-qu'ayant précisément la même chose à dire que Corneille, il m'était impossible de l'exprimer mieux; et j'ai mieux aimé donner deux bons vers de lui, que d'en donner deux mauvais de moi."¹ This is the very reasoning whereby borrowing in the Greek orators was justified: τὸ γὰρ καλῶς εἰπεῖν φασιν ἅπαξ περιγίγνεται, δις δὲ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται.² These, however, are not the grounds for the use of the true formula: Voltaire does not say that the borrowed lines made his verse-making easier; he would have been ashamed to admit any other than purely artistic motives. For him, what comes before all else is the idea to be expressed, and which he has for his own reasons chosen to express. In this case he had found his ideas in Corneille, where they had struck him by their high emotional and dramatic quality. He used the ideas and the words from which he could not separate them; but we may

¹ *Lettres sur Oedipe* 5; cf. R. C. Jebb, in his edition of *Oedipus the King* (Cambridge, 1893), p. xlii.

² Theon, *Progymnasmata* 1, 3 (Waltz).

well suppose that he spent as much thought in borrowing these verses as Corneille did in making one of them out of the lines of Seneca:

quaeratur via
qua nec sepultis mixtus et vivis tamen
exemptus erres.¹

One only has to think of the number of formulas in Homer, and of how closely they follow one another, to see that Homer's use of borrowed phrases could have been nothing like this. A poet making verses with the greatest care, who sought to put into his poetry all that he had found best in the poetry of others, could never have thus stopped at every other verse to ponder some line he knew, whether that of another or his own. Virgil, it would seem, did this more than any poet we know of, yet he is far from such a practice.² The case of Virgil, indeed, bears very directly upon this distinction between the formula and the phrase which expresses an unusually striking idea: far from being led by any consideration of an easy verse-making he is quite willing to translate his striking ideas from Greek. Virgil is not a writer of plays, of course, to be brought in with regard to the effective dramatic phrase. But it is clear that, as the tragic poet is concerned with the forceful dramatic expression, so Virgil, writing heroic narrative, is seeking the salient epic phrase.

I do not think it should be said that the element of usefulness is absolutely lacking from the phrases which Euripides borrowed. One case I am very nearly tempted to class as a true formula. It happens to be the one which the poet used most often, namely ἀλλ' εἰσορῶ γάρ. This is used once by Aeschylus and six times by Euripides.³ The words are a means of turning the eyes of the audience towards an actor who is just coming on to the stage. But even here the device is more than ordinarily dramatic, and there is no other case which approaches this. Perhaps one should grant too that the poet was helped somewhat by the poetic locutions he borrowed. But the fact that they fall between groups of words which the poet was using for the first time, and not, as the true formula does, into a pattern of formulas

¹ *Oedipus* 950-951.

² Cf. A. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide* (Paris, 1926), *passim*.

³ Aeschylus, *Prometheus* 941; Euripides, *Hippolytus* 51, *Hecuba* 724, *Heracles* 138, *Electra* 107, *Orestes* 725, *Bacchanals* 1165.

which were made to fit before and after it in the verse, brings them after all very close to the phrases which Pindar took from the epic and which, as we have seen, were no more or less helpful than any words which were being used for the first time.

The expressions which Euripides repeated from his own works are not very different from those he borrowed, except that they seem at times to be more particularly his own, such as certain forceful but prosaic phrases: *μιλλῶμαι λόγοις*,¹ *ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀμαθίας*,² *οἶκ ἐς ἀμβολάς*,³ *σὸν ἔργον ἤδη*,⁴ and the like. But the poet shows his taste in borrowing others as well as in choosing his own words. The best way to show that the repeated phrases within his verses are of the sort we have already seen will be, I think, to take up all the cases of repetition in a certain play. It is of course the later pieces which contain the greater number; the *Orestes* with 36 has most. They may be classed under five headings.

I. — Three phrases of a highly tragic force:

ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ γὰ καὶ φῶς.⁵ This is one of the rare lyric formulas. It is used by the slave in the *Orestes* to tell his wonder at the vanishing of Helen. It opens the first chorus of the *Medea*, serving to deepen the effect of Medea's lamentation off stage.

ὦς μ' ἀπώλεσας καὶ τόνδε.⁶ In the *Orestes* Electra speaks thus in her outburst of hate for Helen. In the *Phaethon* the words are addressed to Helios by the mother as she leaves the stage following the body of her dead son.

Ἐγὼ δ' ἐπεγγέλευσα. Euripides, dealing with the same characters as in an old play, is making second use of a dramatic play of dialogue. In the *Electra* the words had appeared in the lament between Orestes and his sister after they have slain their mother:

OP. *ἐγὼ μὲν ἐπιβαλὼν φάρη κόραις ἐμαῖς*
φασγάνῳ κατηρξάμαν
ματέρος ἔσω δέρας μεθείς.

¹ *Hippolytus* 971, *Hecuba* 271, *Heracles* 1255, *Suppliants* 195.

² *Ion* 374, *Trojan Women* 972.

³ *Children of Heracles* 270, *Helen* 1297.

⁴ *Electra* 668, *Iphigenia in the Tauric Land* 1079.

⁵ *Medea* 148; *Orestes* 1496. ⁶ *Phaethon* fr. 781, 11-12; *Orestes* 130-131.

ΗΛ. ἐγὼ δ' ἐπεγκέλευσά σοι
ζῖφους τ' ἐφηψάμαν ἄμα.¹

In the *Orestes* the phrase is spoken when the brother and sister and Pylades, having resolved the death of Helen, call Agamemnon's spirit to their aid:

ΠΥ. ὦ συγγένεια πατρὸς ἐμοῦ, κάμας λιτάς,
Ἀγάμεμνον, εἰσάκουσον· ἔκσωισον τέκνα.
ΟΡ. ἔκτεινα μητέρα . . . ΠΥ. ἡψάμην δ' ἐγὼ ζῖφους . . .
ΗΛ. ἐγὼ δ' ἐπεγκέλευσα καπέλυσ' ὄκνου.²

The grasping of the sword is here shifted from Electra to Pylades. One can see that Euripides was repeating a complex dramatic grouping of ideas in a different verse-form, though only in the case of three words could he keep the same language.

II. — Five phrases which, though not so purely dramatic, contain an idea more than usually striking either in itself or in the way in which it is expressed:

ᾠ τλήμον Ἑλένη.³ This is used three times by Euripides. There is no need of explaining "unhappy Helen," nor the thought of Helen unhappy in the sorrows she has caused, which is that found in two of the passages:

ὦ τλήμον Ἑλένη, διὰ σέ καὶ τοὺς σοὺς γάμους
ἀγῶν Ἀτρείδαις καὶ τέκνοις ἤκει μέγας . . .⁴

ὦ τλήμον Ἑλένη, διὰ σ' ἀπόλλυνται Φρύγες.⁵

Ἄλῃς τὸ κείνης (μητρὸς) αἷμα. Orestes speaks thus in the *Iphigenia in the Tauric Land* and in the *Orestes*; both when he refuses to endanger the life of one sister for the sake of his escape, and when his

¹ v. 1221 ff.

² v. 1233 ff. Murray prints, but daggers, the reading *ἐπεβούλευσα*. Musgrave's reading, however, based on *ἐπεκέλευσα* of B, is almost certain, in view of the many other cases where Euripides utilizes the same words for the second expression of a striking idea. Nauck's reading *ἐπενεκέλευσα* is less good, since the source of the corruption in the manuscripts was probably the absence of the augment, which is rare in the dialogue of tragedy.

³ *Orestes*, 1613.

⁴ *Iphigenia at Aulis* 1253-54.

⁵ *Helen* 109.

other sister asks for her death at his hands rather than at those of the Argives.¹

Ταύτηι γέγηθα καπιλήθομαι κακῶν.² The verse is both very pathetic and very nicely put. The same thing may be said of δυστυχοῦντί σοι φίλος.³

Τοῖς μὲν λόγοις ἡὔφρανε, τοῖς δ' ἔργοισιν οὔ.⁴ The verse upon which this was modelled is the following: τοῖς πράγμασιν τέθνηκα, τοῖς δ' ἔργοισιν οὔ.⁵ One thinks of the verse of the *Hippolytus* which Aristophanes ridiculed: ἡ γλῶσσ' ὁμώμοχ', ἡ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώματος.⁶ Euripides was writing for the same Athens which, nineteen years before, had listened in grave wonder to the balanced style of Gorgias, in whose work we read such sentences as the following one from the *Praise of Helen*: τὸ γὰρ τοῖς εἰδόσιν ἃ ἴσασι λέγειν πίστιν μὲν ἔχει, τέρψιν δ' οὐ φέρει;⁷ and one is not surprised to find in this author's *Defence of Palamedes* the same play of words as in the verse quoted from the *Orestes*: ὑμᾶς δὲ χρὴ μὴ τοῖς λόγοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἔργοις προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν.⁸

Οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν κρεῖσσον.⁹ This is a phrase of purest gnomic tone.

III. — Six phrases found in dialogue, either in stichomythy or at the beginning of a longer speech, always at the beginning of the verse, and with one exception the first words in the speech. They are a device by which a character who has just come upon the stage can begin his speech, or by which the thought can be carried back and forth between actors in the give and take of dramatic conversation:

ᾧ χαῖρε καὶ σὺ. This is said in three cases by a character who returns the greeting made him as he enters.¹⁰ In the *Hippolytus* they are put to a more dramatic use as the words of the dying hero to his father.¹¹

Ἦε, τί χρῆμα.¹² This cry of surprise is uttered in three different plays by characters who, entering the stage, have come upon some startling sight.

¹ *Iphigenia in the Tauric Land* 1008, *Orestes* 1039.

² *Hecuba* 279, *Orestes* 66.

³ *Electra* 605, *Orestes* 1096.

⁴ *Orestes* 287.

⁵ *Helen* 286.

⁶ *Hippolytus* 612; cf. Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1471.

⁷ § 5 (Baiter and Sauppe).

⁸ § 34.

⁹ *Andromache* 986, *Orestes* 1155.

¹⁰ *Medea* 665, *Children of Heracles* 660, *Orestes* 477.

¹¹ *Hippolytus* 1453.

¹² *Hippolytus* 905, *Heracles* 525, *Orestes* 1573.

᾽Ω φίλτατ', εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο.¹ This emotional expression is used to begin a wish suggested by the previous speaker's words.

The other three cases are found in stichomythy: καγὼ τοιοῦτος,² 'I too'; ἐς ταῦτόν ἤκει· καὶ γὰρ οὐδέ,³ 'We agree, for . . .'; τί χρῆμα δρᾶσαι;⁴ 'What must we do?'

IV.—Thirteen phrases in which the diction is more than usually poetic. There are those in which the words themselves are of the sort not used in prose:

συμφοραὶ θεήλατοι ⁵	τάλαιναν καρδίαν ⁸
λεύσιμος . . . δίκη ⁶	θεοῖς στυγούμενον ⁹
λευσίμῳ πετρώματι ⁷	

In others it is the way the words are used which is poetic:

ἀρίστας θυγατέρας σπείρας ¹⁰	ὑπὲρ γῆς Ἑλλάδος ¹³
κἀνεκουφίσθην δέμας ¹¹	ἀθλίως πεπραγότα ¹⁴
συμφορὰς κεκτημένη ¹²	ἔργον ἀνοσιώτατον ¹⁵

In two cases the expression, by calling up the legend, brings into the style what may be called a romantic note:

᾽Ορέστην παῖδα τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος . . . ¹⁶
 ἦν . . . ἔλιφ' ὅτ' ἐς Τροίαν ἔπλει. ¹⁷

These last two examples might have been put in the second class.

¹ *Cyclops* 437, *Orestes* 1100.

² *Children of Heracles* 266, *Orestes* 1680.

³ *Hecuba* 748, *Orestes* 1280.

⁴ *Helen* 826, *Orestes* 1186, 1583.

⁵ *Andromache* 851, *Orestes* 2.

⁶ *Children of Heracles* 60, *Orestes* 614.

⁷ *Orestes* 50, 442.

⁸ *Fr. inc.* 900, 6, *Orestes* 466.

⁹ *Alceste* 62, *Iphigenia in the Tauric Land* 947, *Orestes* 19.

¹⁰ *Orestes* 750, *Bacchanals* 1234.

¹¹ *Hippolytus* 1392, *Orestes* 218.

¹² *Iphigenia in the Tauric Land* 1317, *Orestes* 865.

¹³ *Hecuba* 310, *Orestes* 574, *Iphigenia at Aulis* 1456.

¹⁴ *Heracles* 707, *Orestes* 87.

¹⁵ *Medea* 796, *Hecuba* 792, *Orestes* 286.

¹⁶ *Orestes* 371, 923.

¹⁷ *Electra* 14, *Orestes* 63.

V. — There remain of the 36 repeated phrases nine which seem hardly striking enough in themselves to have been used for much else than their usefulness, though here too there are poetic words and word-order, and forceful ideas:

ἔσω στείχοντες ¹

ὦν δ' οὐνεκ' ἦλθον ²

ἐγὼ θήσω καλῶς ³

πάσης ὑπὲρ γῆς ⁴

οὐκέτ' ἂν φθάνοις ἂν ⁵

Κλυταιμῆστρας τάφον ⁶

χρηστὰ βουλεύουσ' αἰεὶ ⁷

κτενεῖν σου θυγατέρ' ⁸

ἔκτεινα μητέρα ⁹

It is to this extent of nine short expressions in a play of almost sixteen hundred lines that Euripides used what would seem to be more or less true formulas. In all but one of these cases he was repeating himself for the first time, and in four of them he was repeating words which had been used earlier in the same play, but had not yet faded from his mind, which would be likely to hold for any length of time only the most remarkable. Moreover four of the six expressions whose first and second appearance occur within the play fall in this fifth class: the poet could not well use any very noticeable phrase twice in the same drama. Yet there remains a final reason why even these cases should not be classed unhesitatingly as formulas: there are quite as many repeated expressions in the prose of most writers, where the factor of the verse, essential to the formula, plays no part. Even here it is doubtful how often Euripides was guided by any other motive than that of the prose author who uses his words over purely for the sake of their thought or their fitness.

It is clear from this analysis that one would not be far wrong in saying that the formula does not exist in tragedy. The dramatic poet, working at ease into the mould of his verse those words he carefully chose for his very own thought, used from time to time some idea or poetic expression which had proved effective in the past and which he remem-

¹ *Iphigenia in the Tauric Land* 470, *Orestes* 1222.

² *Andromache* 1238, *Ion* 332, *Helen* 144, *Orestes* 611.

³ *Hippolytus* 521, *Hecuba* 875, *Orestes* 1664, *Iphigenia at Aulis* 401.

⁴ *Suppliants* 1190, *Orestes* 574.

⁵ *Trojan Women* 456, *Orestes* 1551.

⁶ *Orestes* 114, 1185.

⁷ *Orestes* 773, 909.

⁸ *Orestes* 1578, 1609.

⁹ *Orestes* 935, 1235.

bered for that reason. Since he was using a regularly recurring verse-form, the metre did not prevent him, as it had prevented Pindar, from using the words which had already expressed the idea, or had even given it some of its value. In one sense the verse-form has influenced his style, in that it did not keep him from repetition, though it did not push him on to it as it had Homer. But in this last distinction lies all the difference between a traditional and an individual style.

We have learned the nature of the repetitions in tragedy. Looking now to see whether there are any traces of schematization in the style of the tragic poets we find a very few, such as the following:

In Aeschylus

τί δῆτ' ἔμοι ζῆν κέρδος ¹
 τῆς νῦν παρούσης πημονῆς ἀπαλ-
 λαγῶ ³
 δυοῖν λόγῳ σε θατέρῳ δωρήσομαι ⁵
 κεκύρωται τέλος ⁸
 πᾶσαν συνάψας μηχανὴν δυσβου-
 λίας ¹⁰

In Euripides

τί δῆτ' ἔμοι ζῆν ἡδύ ²
 τῆς νῦν παρούσης συμφορᾶς αἰτήσο-
 μαι ⁴
 δυοῖν δὲ μοίραιν θατέραι πεπλήξεται ⁶
 δυοῖν ἀνάγκη θατέρῳ λιπεῖν βίον ⁷
 κεκυρῶσθαι σφαγᾶς ⁹
 κοινὴν συνάπτειν μηχανὴν σωτηρίας ¹¹

Within the Work of Euripides

καινὸν ἀγγελεῖ κακόν ¹²
 οὐχ ὁρᾶις ἃ χρὴ σ' ὁρᾶν ¹⁵
 ὑπὲρ γῆς Ἑλλάδος ¹⁷
 οὐδ' ἄκραντ' ἠκούσαμεν ¹⁹

καινὸν ἀγγελεῖς ἔπος ¹³
 καινὸν ἀγγελῶν λόγον ¹⁴
 οὐ φρονοῦς' ἃ χρὴ φρονεῖν ¹⁰
 ὑπὲρ γῆς Δαναιδῶν ¹⁸
 οὐδ' ἄκρανθ' ὠρμήσαμεν ²⁰

¹ *Prometheus* 747.

² *Andromache* 404.

³ *Prometheus* 471.

⁴ *Helen* 509.

⁵ *Prometheus* 778.

⁶ *Hippolytus* 894.

⁷ *Andromache* 383.

⁸ *Libation Bearers* 874.

¹⁷ *Hecuba* 310, *Orestes* 574, *Iphigenia at Aulis* 1456.

¹⁸ *Suppliants* 1190.

¹⁹ *Iphigenia in the Tauric Land* 520, *Bacchanals* 1231.

⁹ *Electra* 1069.

¹⁰ *Agamemnon* 1609.

¹¹ *Helen* 1034.

¹² *Medea* 1120.

¹³ *Trojan Women* 55.

¹⁴ *Trojan Women* 238.

¹⁵ *Phoenicians* 713.

¹⁶ *Bacchanals* 1123.

²⁰ *Bacchanals* 435.

The systems in Euripides are always made up as here of two or three expressions. There is hardly need of pointing out that they are of the same sort as the phrases repeated without change. The poet is usually modifying some striking idea or some forceful use of words to fit a new situation. One could rarely say that he was guided in any way by the wish for an easy versification. Yet this, we shall see, was the regular motive for the epic poet.

Since there are no systems of any length in tragic diction, there is, of course, no question of the thrift of the system. The lack of thrift in the diction is made clear, however, by the large number of expressions which could replace one another, that is to say, expressions in which the essential meaning and the metrical value are the same, but the words different. Such examples are the following:

In Aeschylus

λέγων τὰ καίρια ¹
πάντα συλλήβδην μάθε ³
τῶν ὑπερκόμπων ἄγαν ⁵

In Euripides

λέγειν ἔν' ἀσφαλές ²
πολλὰ συλλαβῶν ἔρῳ ⁴
τῶν ἄγαν ὑπερφρόνων ⁶

Within the Work of Euripides

δεσπότης γὰρ ἐστ' ἐμός ⁷
οἱ ἐγὼ τῶν ἐμῶν τλήμων κακῶν. ⁹

ἄλλ' ἀναξ γὰρ ἐστ' ἐμός ⁸
οἴμοι τῶν ἐμῶν ἐγὼ κακῶν ¹⁰

Equivalent phrases of this kind are not lacking in Homer, but they are always due to the play of analogy which underlies the diction, and they are never phrases of more than a few words.¹¹ In tragedy, however, whole equivalent verses are very common, and we shall do well to consider some of them for what they show us of the working of the poet's mind. Aeschylus wrote the following verse:

εἰ δ' αὖθ', ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, συμφορὰ τύχοι.¹²

¹ *Prometheus the Firebearer* fr. 204.

² *Ino* fr. 417, 2.

³ *Prometheus* 505.

⁴ *Erechtheus* fr. 364, 5.

⁵ *Persians* 827.

¹¹ Cf. *L'Épithète traditionnelle*, pp. 218-238.

¹² *Seven against Thebes* 5.

⁶ *Children of Heracles* 388.

⁷ *Medea* 83.

⁸ *Electra* 1245.

⁹ *Helen* 1223.

¹⁰ *Phoenicians* 373.

In Euripides this became:

ὃ μὴ γένοιτο δ', εἴ τι τυγχάνοι κακόν.¹

We read in Sophocles:

ἐλπὶς γὰρ ἡ βόσκουσα τοὺς πολλοὺς βροτῶν.²

This same idea had been expressed before by Aeschylus in a trochaic verse:

οἷδ' ἐγὼ φεύγοντας ἄνδρας ἐλπίδας σιτουμένους.³

Rather than use the line of Sophocles, Euripides blended the two verses, and made:

αἱ δ' ἐλπίδες βόσκουσι φυγάδας, ὥς λόγος.⁴

Finally, the scholiast on this verse quotes another with identical thought from some unnamed poet:

αἱ δ' ἐλπίδες βόσκουσι τοὺς κενοὺς βροτῶν.

Euripides varies the terms of his own statement:

κράτιστον εἶναι φημὶ μὴ φῦναι βροτῶι . . .⁵

τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι κρείσσον ἢ φῦναι βροτοῖς . . .⁶

ἡ πόλλ' ἀνήρου μ' ἐνὶ λόγῳ μιᾷ θ' ὀδῶι . . .⁷

ὥς πάνθ' ἅπαξ με συλλαβοῦς' ἀνιστορεῖς.⁸

Possibly the most curious case of equivalent verses is to be found in the following passages, one from the *Helen*, the other from the *Iphigenia in the Tauric Land*:

ΕΛ. ἦλθες γάρ, ὦ ξέν', Ἰλίου κλεινὴν πόλιν;

ΤΕ. καὶ ξύν γε πέρσας αὐτὸς ἀνταπωλόμην.

ΕΛ. ἦδη γὰρ ἦπται καὶ κατείργασται πυρί;

ΤΕ. ὥστ' οὐδ' ἔχνος γε τειχέων εἶναι σαφές . . .⁹

¹ *Ion* 731.

² Inc. fr. 863.

³ *Agamemnon* 1668.

⁴ *Phoenicians* 396.

⁵ *Bellerophon* fr. 287, 2.

⁶ Inc. fr. 900, 1.

⁷ *Helen* 765.

⁸ *Iphigenia in the Tauric Land* 528.

⁹ *Helen* 105 ff.

ΙΦ. Τροίαν ἴσως οἶσθ', ἧς ἀπανταχοῦ λόγος.

ΟΡ. ὥς μήποτ' ὤφελόν γε μηδ' ἰδὼν ὄναρ.

ΙΦ. φασὶν νιν οὐκέτ' οὔσαν οἴχεσθαι δορί.

ΟΡ. ἔστιν γὰρ οὕτως οὐδ' ἄκραντ' ἠκούσατε.¹

Not only do these equivalent verses show the lack in the poetry of any factor which would have urged the writer to a thrift of diction; they show clearly how the idea could lie in the mind of the poet without being bound to any certain words. Euripides, when he made verses, looked for terms to express his ideas, but the epic poet, we shall see, thought in terms of his formulas, and did not separate the idea from the words with which it went. It is not the place here to show this fully, but in passing I would quote certain Homeric lines and ask if one should not be much surprised to find the same ideas expressed in verses of different wording:

διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ . . .

ἄλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατὰλεξον.

The first of these verses occurs 21 times, the second 17 times.

Poetry after the Fifth Century

Leaving tragedy to go on to later poetry one sees straightway that we have very little to learn about the formula outside the epic itself. We may even be charged with having followed thus far a very laborious course to prove what is clear enough anyway, namely, that the repeated phrase in poetry, unless it be poetry very different from our own, is an ornament of verse, not a means of making it. The repetitions in later verse have long been put to their proper use as a ready means of studying the influence of one author upon another, either upon his thought or upon some aspect of his style. As far as our understanding of Pindar or of Euripides goes, there is almost no value in the distinction we have been making between the phrase which, taken without change from another poet, might be helpful, and that which he took and changed for his own needs. The influence of ideas shown by the borrowed phrase is very real, but no more so than is that of the altered phrase, while its metrical help is too small to deserve note.

¹ *Iphigenia in the Tauric Land* 517 ff.

More than that, unless we consider the repetitions as showing this influence of ideas, we cannot know why they come more or less closely together in the verses of a poet. We took care to see just how many repetitions there were in tragedy, supposing that the exact difference in number between those in Attic poetry and those in Homer would have some bearing upon the problem of the formulas in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey*. But the truth is that only the absolute difference thus proved has any bearing on Homer's practice. The contrast between a vast number of repetitions in Homer and a comparatively very small number in the work of the tragic poets at once suggested that repetition could not be due to the same causes in both cases. Then a study of the nature of the repetitions in tragedy showed that almost none of them, or even none of them at all, are true formulas, and so we reached that important point where we know surely that Homer's poetry is governed by factors unknown to later Greek poetry. Just what those factors are we shall go on to see; yet our essay would not be complete if we did not pause here a moment to point out what sort of causes, special to a certain poet, or to the poetry of a certain period, have determined the frequency of repetitions in poetry outside the early epic.

If we find almost no Homeric formulas in Apollonius, for example, it does not at all mean that they would not have helped his verse-making, but that he wanted very much to avoid them.¹ If Theocritus, on the other hand, used twelve in his little epic *The Infant Heracles*, it means that he was seeking, in a rather amusing way, for the epic note, and that the use of the twelve formulas was in no way different from that of the ten which he changed metrically.² Indeed, one misses the point if one does not see the pains which the poet has spent upon them. Likewise the three hundred phrases of his own which, as we just saw, Euripides used over again, have nothing at all to do with the number of formulas which Homer might have made himself, but they do show the high point to which Euripides carried the artifices of his dramatic technique, and, if one will study them along with the other

¹ Cf. G. Boesch, *De Apollonii Rhodii elocutione* (Göttingen, 1908), p. 7; M. Parry, *Distinctive Character of Enjambement in Homeric Verse* in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* LX (1929), pp. 213-214.

² G. Futh, *De Theocriti poetae bucolici studiis Homericis* (Halis Saxonum, 1876), pp. 7-8.

cases in which he expresses the same ideas but changes his words, one will find them an excellent means of learning the nature of his tragic art. The number of repeated phrases in Virgil is high. The lists of E. Albrecht¹ give 372 cases from the *Aeneid*, as follows: 44 in which the expression had been used in the *Eclogues* or the *Georgics*; 248 in which the expression appears three times within the *Aeneid*; 47 in which it is found four times; 22 in which it is found five times; and 11 in which it is used even more often. This makes, not counting the first appearance, a repetition for every twentieth verse. The number is high, but it shows only two things. The phrases from the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* are a measure of the endless care which Virgil gave to his style, and of the need he felt of using again some of the best expressions he had made in his earlier years. The repetitions found in the *Aeneid* show this also, but far more they show that he was trying to make a poem like Homer's. As in the case of the Homeric formulas in Theocritus we must see, if we are to understand the poet, how much toil these repetitions must have cost him. When we turn to our own poetry and to our own language, the nature of the borrowed phrase in written poetry becomes very clear. Charles Crawford,² after writing a concordance to the works of Kyd and the play *Arden of Feversham*, whose authorship is doubtful, was able to show 47 places where that play recalls Kyd's *Soliman and Perseda*; of these there are thirteen where the same phrase is used, though never more than once. But it will do to quote a few of the repetitions: "to everlasting night," "leave protestations now," "vengeance light on me," "this melancholy mood." I give one more example because it should make clear how little effect the loose form of Elizabethan blank verse could have had upon the choice of a certain word-group. We read in *Soliman and Perseda*:

Lucina. — What ails you, madam, that your colour changes?

Perseda. — A sudden qualm.³

In *Arden of Feversham* we find:

Franklin. — What ails you, woman, to cry so suddenly?

Alice. — Ah, neighbours, a sudden qualm came o'er my heart.⁴

¹ *Wiederholte Verse und Vertheile bei Vergil* in *Hermes*, XVI (1881), pp. 393-444.

² *The Authorship of Arden of Feversham* in *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XXXIX (1903), pp. 74-86.

³ II, 1, 49-50.

⁴ V, 1, 308-309.

To find repetitions which could be said to help the verse-making one must rather go to the tradition of Milton's style. Here the strictness of the verse, and the demand for form in style, come much nearer to the practice of the Greek and Roman poets. Yet when one finds Pope copying "the glowing violet," or "rough satyrs danced," or "tufted trees," or "dropt with gold," one sees the utter vainness of thinking one will find a true formula in the remaining 51 pages of parallels to Milton which R. D. Havens collected from English verse.¹

It would seem, indeed, that those who wished to show that Homer, in his formulas, was not really different from any other poet, were not altogether logical. Thinking that the use of formulas as a means of easy verse-making might damage Homer's good name, they cited the examples of repetition in later verse, where they themselves would be the first to deny any but purely artistic motives. It may be, though, that Homer was not such a bad poet even if he did make verses in a way which some have found not quite right.

5. THE FORMULA IN HOMER

The easiest and best way of showing the place the formula holds in Homeric style will be to point out all the expressions occurring in a given passage which are found elsewhere in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, in such a way that, as one reads, one may see how the poet has used them to express his thought. I have put a solid line beneath those word-groups which are found elsewhere in the poems unchanged, and a broken line under phrases which are of the same type as others. In this case I have limited the type to include only those in which not only the metre and the parts of speech are the same, but in which also at least one important word or group of words is identical, as in the first example: *μηνιν . . . Πηληιάδεω Ἀχιλῆος* and *μηνιν . . . ἐκατηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος*.

¹ *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry* (Cambridge, Mass., 1922), pp. 571-624.

ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Α

Μῆνιν¹ ἄειδε θεὰ Πηληιάδew Ἀχιλλῆος²
οὔλομένην ἧ³ μυρί'⁴ Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκε,⁵
πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν⁶
ἡρώων, αὐτοὺς δέ⁷ ἐλώρια τεῦχε κίνεσσιν
οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι, Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή⁸ 5
ἐξ οὗ δὴ⁹ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε
Ἀτρεΐδης τε¹⁰ ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν¹¹ καὶ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.¹²
 Τίς τ' ἄρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι¹³ ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι;¹⁴
Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς υἱός.¹⁵ ὁ γὰρ βασιλῆι χολωθείς
νοῦσον ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὥρσε¹⁶ κακὴν, ὀλέκοντο δὲ λαοί¹⁷ 10
οὔνεκα τὸν Χρῦσην ἠτίμασεν ἀρητῆρα
 Ἀτρεΐδης· ὁ γὰρ ἦλθε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν¹⁸
λυσόμενός τε θύγατρα φέρων τ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα¹⁹
στέμμα τ' ἔχων ἐν χερσίν²⁰ ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος²¹
χρυσέωι ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ²² καὶ λίσσετο πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς,²³ } = A 372-5 15
Ἀτρεΐδα δὲ μάλιστα²⁴ δύω κοσμήτορε λαῶν.²⁵
Ἀτρεΐδαι τε καὶ ἄλλοι²⁶ ἐυκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί,²⁷ } = Ψ 272, 658.
ὕμιν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες²⁸
ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν,²⁹ εὖ δ' οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι.³⁰
παῖδα δ' ἐμοὶ λύσαιτε φίλῃν, τὰ δ' ἄποινα δέχεσθαι
ἄζόμενοι³¹ Διὸς υἱὸν ἐκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα.³² 20
Ἔνθ' ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες³³ ἐπευφήμησαν Ἀχαιοί³⁴
αἰδεῖσθαι θ' ιερῆα καὶ ἀγλαὰ δέχθαι ἄποινα·
ἀλλ' οὐκ³⁵ Ἀτρεΐδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονι³⁶ ἤνδανε θυμῷ,³⁷ } = A 376-9
ἀλλὰ κακῶς ἀφίει, κρατερόν δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλε.³⁸ 25

¹ Cf. μῆνιν ἀλευάμενος ἑκατηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος Π 711. ² Πηληιάδew Ἀχιλλῆος Α 322, Ι 166, ΙΙ 269, 653, Ω 406, λ 467, ω 15. ³ οὔλομένην ἦι Ε 876, ρ 287, 474.
⁴ Cf. μυρί' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐσθλὰ ἔοργε Β 272. ⁵ ἄλγε' ἔθηκε Χ 422. ⁶ πολλὰς ἰφθίμους κεφαλὰς (v. l. ψυχὰς) Ἄϊδι προιάψειν Α 55; Ἄϊδι προιάψει Ζ 487. ⁷ Cf. ἡρώων τοῖσιν τε Ε 747, Θ 391, α 101. ⁸ Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή λ 297. ⁹ ἐξ οὗ δὴ ξ 379.
¹⁰ Ἀτρεΐδης δέ Γ 271, 361, Ι 89, Ν 610, Τ 252, δ 304. ¹¹ ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Α 172, 442. Β 402, 441, 612, Γ 81, 267, 455, Δ 148, 255, 336, Ε 38, Ζ 33, 37, 162, 314, Θ 278, Ι 114, 672, Κ 64, 86, 103, 119, 233, Λ 99, 254, Ξ 64, 103, 134, Σ111, Τ 51, 76, 172, 184, Ψ 161, 895, θ 77. ¹² καὶ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς Α 7, Τ 160; δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς Α 121, 292, Β 688, Ε 788, Ζ 414, 423, Ι 199, 209, 667, Λ 599, Ο 68, Π 5, Ρ 402, Σ 181, 228, 305, 343, Τ 40, 364, 384, Τ 177, 386, 388, 413, 445, Φ 39, 49, 67, 149, 161, 265, 359, Χ 102, 172, 205, 326, 330, 364, 376, 455, Ψ 136, 140, 193, 333, 534, 555, 828, 889, Ω 151, 180, 513, 596, 668. ¹³ θεῶν ἔριδι Τ 66. ¹⁴ ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι Η 210. ¹⁵ καὶ Διὸς νῆι Χ 302. ¹⁶ Cf. ἀνὰ στρατὸν εἰσι Κ 66. ¹⁷ Cf. ἀρετῶσι δὲ λαοὶ τ 114; δαινυτὸ τε λαὸς Ω 665; etc. ¹⁸ ἦλθε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν Α 371; θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν Β 8, 17, 168, Ζ 52, Κ 450, 514, Λ 3, Ω 564; θοὴν ἐπὶ νῆα γ 347, κ 244. ¹⁹ λυσόμενος . . . φέρω δ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα Ω 502; ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα Α 372, Ζ 49, 427, Ι 120, Κ 380, Λ 134, Τ 138, Ω 276, 502, 579. ²⁰ ἔχων ἐν χειρὶ Θ 221, Ξ 385. ²¹ ἐκηβόλῳ Ἀπόλλωνι Α 438, Π 513, Ψ 872. ²² Cf. χρυσέῳ ἐν δαπέδῳ Δ 2; χρυσέῳ ἐν δέπαι Ω 285. ²³ πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς Α 374, Γ 68, 88, Η 49, Θ 498, Ι 75, Ξ 124, Ψ 815, γ 137, 141, δ 288, ω 49, 438. ²⁴ Cf. Αἴαντι δὲ μάλιστα Ξ 459. ²⁵ κοσμήτορε λαῶν Γ 236. ²⁶ Cf. Ἀτρεΐδῃ τε καὶ ἄλλοι ἀριστῆες Παναχαιῶν Η 327. ²⁷ καὶ ἄλλοι ἐυκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοὶ Ξ 49; ἐυκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοὶ Β 331, Δ 414, Ζ 529, Η 57, 172, Μ 141, Ν 51, Σ 151, Τ 74, Ψ 721, Ω 800, β 72, γ 149, σ 259. ²⁸ Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες Β 13, 30, 67, Ε 383, Ο 115, υ 79, ψ 167. ²⁹ Πριάμοιο πόλιν Σ 288, Χ 165, γ 130, λ 533, ν 316. ³⁰ οἴκαδ' ἰκέσθαι Ι 393, 414, Ω 287, ι 530, ο 66, 210, φ 211, χ 35. ³¹ Cf. εὐχόμενος δ' ἄρα εἶπεν ἐκηβόλῳ Ἀπόλλωνι Π 513. ³² Διὸς νῆι ἐκηβόλῳ Χ 302; ἐκῆβολον Ἀπόλλωνα Α 438, Π 513, Ψ 872. ³³ ἐνθ' ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες Ω 25, α 11, β 82, δ 285, ε 110, 133, θ 93, 532, ρ 503. ³⁴ Cf. ἀφορμηθεῖεν Ἀχαιοὶ Β 794; ἐφοπλίζωμεν Ἀχαιοὶ Δ 344; etc. ³⁵ Cf. οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτ' Αἴαντι μεγαλήτορι ἦνδανε θυμῷ Ο 674. ³⁶ Ἀτρεΐδew Ἀγαμέμνονος Β 185, Λ 231, ι 263. ³⁷ ἦνδανε θυμῷ Ο 674, κ 373. ³⁸ κρατερὸν δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλε Α 326, Π 199.

ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ Α

"Ανδρά μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα ¹ πολύτροπον ὃς ² μάλα πολλά ³

πλάγχθη ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν ⁴ πτολίεθρον ἔπερσε· ⁵

πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ⁶ ἶδεν ἄσπεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω, ⁷

πολλὰ δ' ὃ γ' ἐν πόντῳ πάθεν ἄλγεα ⁸ ὃν κατὰ θυμόν ⁹

ἀρνύμενος ἣν τε ψυχὴν ¹⁰ καὶ νόστον ἐταίρων. ¹¹

5

ἄλλ' οὐδ' ὥς ¹² ἐτάρους ἐρρύσατο ¹³ ἱεμένους περ· ¹⁴

αὐτῶν γὰρ ¹⁵ σφετέρησιν ἀτασθαλίησιν ὄλοντο ¹⁶

νήπιοι οἳ ¹⁷ κατὰ βοῦς Ὑπερίονος Ἡελίοιο ¹⁸

ἦσθιον· αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσιν ¹⁹ ἀφείλετο νόστιμον ἡμάρ. ²⁰

τῶν ἀμόθεν γε θεὰ θύγατερ Διὸς ²¹ εἶπε καὶ ἡμῖν.

10

"Ἐνθ' ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες ²² ὅσοι φύγον αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον ²³

οἴκοι ἔσαν ²⁴ πόλεμόν τε πεφευγότες ἥδ' ἐθάλασσαν· ²⁵

τὸν δ' οἶον ²⁶ νόστου κεχρημένον ²⁷ ἥδ' ἐγυναικός ²⁸

νύμφη πότνι· ἔρυκε Καλυψώ δῖα θεάων ²⁹

ἐν σπέσσι γλαφυροῖσι ³⁰ λιλαιομένη πόσιν εἶναι. ³¹

= 130

15

ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ ³² ἔτος ³³ ἦλθε ³⁴ περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν ³⁵

τῷ οἱ ἐπεκλώσαντο θεοὶ ³⁶ οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι ³⁷

εἰς Ἰθάκην ³⁸ οὐδ' ἐνθα πεφυγμένος ἦεν ἀέθλων ³⁹

καὶ μετὰ οἷσι φίλοισι. θεοὶ δ' ἐλέαιρον ἅπαντες ⁴⁰

νόσφι Ποσειδάωνος· ⁴¹ ὁ δ' ⁴² ἀσπερχὲς μενέαινε ⁴³

20

ἀντιθέωι Ὀδυσῇ ⁴⁴ πάρος ἦν γαῖαν ἰκέσθαι. ⁴⁵

"Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν Αἰθίοπας μετεκίαθε ⁴⁶ τηλόθ' ἐόντας, ⁴⁷

Αἰθίοπας τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαΐαται ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν ⁴⁸

οἱ μὲν δυσσομένου Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος,

ἀντιῶν ταύρων τε καὶ ἀρνεῶν ἐκατόμβης.

25

¹ μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα Β 761. ² πολύτροπος δν κ 330. ³ μάλα πολλά Ε 197, Ι 364, Π 838, Χ 220, Ω 391, δ 95, θ 155, ν 90, ο 401, ψ 267; cf. ὅς μοι πολλά Χ 170.
⁴ Cf. Τροίης ἱερὰ κρήδεμνα Π 100. ⁵ Cf. Κικόνων ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἐλόντες ι 165.
⁶ Cf. ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων δ 34, etc.; πάντων ἀνθρώπων Π 621, etc. ⁷ Cf. θεὸν ἔγνω α 420.
⁸ ἐν πόντῳ πάθετ' ἄλγεα κ 458; πάθεν ἄλγεα Ω 7. ⁹ πάθ' ἄλγεα δν κατὰ θυμόν ν 90; δν κατὰ θυμόν Ν 8, Ψ 769, ν 59, ψ 345. ¹⁰ σὴν δὲ ψυχὴν Χ 257. ¹¹ Cf. καὶ νόστον Ἀχαιῶν κ 15. ¹² ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς 16 times. ¹³ Cf. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς σχεδὶς ἐπελήθετο τειρόμενός περ ε 324; cf. τὸν νεκρὸν ἐρύσομεν Ρ 635, 713. ¹⁴ ἰεμενός περ κ 246, ξ 142.
¹⁵ Cf. τοῦτον γὰρ . . . ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὄλοντο κ 437. ¹⁶ σφετέρῃσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὄλοντο Δ 409. ¹⁷ Cf. ἀτὰρ Δαναοῖσι γε πῆμα | νήπιοι οἷ Θ 176-177. ¹⁸ Ὑπερίονος Ἡελίοιο Θ 480, μ 263. ¹⁹ αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσι Η 383. ²⁰ ἀφείλετο νόστιμον ἡμῶν τ 369; νόστιμον ἡμῶν α 168, 354, γ 233, ε 220, ζ 311, θ 466, π 149, ρ 253, 571, τ 369.
²¹ θεὰ θύγατερ Διὸς Ε 815, υ 61. ²² ἐνθ' ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες. See above on Α 22.
²³ Cf. ὅπηι φύγοι αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον Ξ 507, Π 283, χ 43; αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον Ζ 57, Κ 371, Ξ 507, 859, Σ 129, α 37, ι 286, 303, μ 287, 446, ρ 47, χ 67. ²⁴ Cf. οἴκοι ἔχειν Α 113.
²⁵ ἥδ' ἐθέλασσαν Β 407, δ 428, 573, θ 50, λ 1, μ 391, ν 70. ²⁶ τὸν δ' οἶον ω 226.
²⁷ Cf. νόστον πευσόμενον α 94, β 360. ²⁸ ἥδ' ἐγυναικῶν Ι 134, 366, Σ 265, Ψ 261, ι 199, λ 403, φ 86, 323, ω 113. ²⁹ ἔρυκε Καλυψὼ δῖα θεάων ι 29; Καλυψὼ δῖα θεάων ε 78, 85, ι 116, ι 80, 202, 242, 246, 258, 276; δῖα θεάων Ε 381, Ζ 305, Ξ 184, Σ 205, Τ 6, Ω 93, δ 382, 398, ε 159, ι 92, κ 400, 455, 487, 503, μ 20, ι 115, 143, 155, σ 190, ι 97, υ 55. ³⁰ ἐν σπέσσι γλαφυροῖσι α 73, ε 155, ι 114, ψ 335. ³¹ λιλαιομένη πόσιν εἶναι ι 32, ψ 334. ³² ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ 106 times. ³³ Cf. πόστον δὴ ἔτος ἐστὶν ω 288.
³⁴ ἀλλ' ὅτε . . . ἦλθεν β 107, τ 152, ω 142. ³⁵ περιπλομένους ἐνιαυτοὺς Ψ 833, λ 248. ³⁶ ἐπεκλώσαντο θεοὶ Ω 525. ³⁷ οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι Β 290, 354, 357, Γ 390, Δ 397, Ψ 229, ζ 110, ξ 87, π 350. ³⁸ Cf. ἐς πατρίδ' ἔπεμπον | εἰς Ἰθάκην τ 461.
³⁹ Cf. πεφυγμένον ἔμμεν ὄλεθρον ι 455. ⁴⁰ Cf. θεοὺς δ' ὀνόμηνεν ἅπαντας Ξ 278.
⁴¹ Cf. ἄντα Ποσειδάωνος Φ 477. ⁴² Cf. ὁ δ' ἐπιζαφελῶς μενέαινε ζ 330. ⁴³ ὁ τ' ἀσπερχὲς μενεαίνει Δ 32, Χ 10. ⁴⁴ ἀντιθέωι Ὀδυσῇ Α 140, β 17, ν 126, χ 291.
⁴⁵ γαῖαν ἰκέσθαι δ 558, 823, ε 15, 26, ι 44, 207, 301, ζ 191, 202, 331, η 193, θ 301, κ 39, ν 426, ο 30, ρ 144, ω 281. ⁴⁶ ἀλλ' . . . μετεκίαθον Α 71. ⁴⁷ τηλόθ' ἐόντι λ 439. ⁴⁸ Cf. ἔσχατοι ἄλλων Κ 434.

The expressions in the first twenty-five lines of the *Iliad* which are solidly underlined as being found unchanged elsewhere in Homer count up to 29, those in the passage from the *Odyssey* to 34. More than one out of every four of these is found again in eight or more places, whereas in all Euripides there was only one phrase which went so far as to appear seven times. If we had chosen our verses from the end of the *Odyssey*, one could not possibly have objected that the twelve expressions in the passage from the *Iliad*, which are repeated only once, are perhaps being used there for the first time. But there is no real need of judging this point. Without these expressions the difference between the repetitions in Homer and those in the work of later poets is very great; but more than that, we are looking for the difference not in repeated phrases but in formulas.

It is important at this point to remember that the formula in Homer is not necessarily a repetition, just as the repetitions of tragedy are not necessarily formulas. It is the nature of an expression which makes of it a formula, whereas its use a second time in Homer depends largely upon the hazard which led a poet, or a group of poets, to use it more than once in two given poems of a limited length. We are taking up the problem of the Homeric formulas from the side of the repetitions, but only because it is easier to recognize a formula if we find it used a second or third time, since we can then show more easily that it is used regularly, and that it helps the poet in his verse-making. We have found that formulas are to all purposes altogether lacking in verse which we know was written, and we are now undertaking the first step in showing the particular character of Homeric style, which is to prove that Homer's verse, on the contrary, has many. We are establishing the difference between many formulas and none. But when that is done we shall still be left to decide the nature of the Homeric diction as a whole.

It is straightway clear that only a very few of the repeated expressions which are underlined in the two passages have anything either in thought or in style which could possibly set them apart in the poet's mind as particular devices for making his verses effective. There is nothing unusual about ἀλλ' ὅτε δῆ (107 times), γαῖαν ικέσθαι (18 times), οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι (10 times), ἐνθ' ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες (10 times), nor in ἦνδανε

θυμῶι (4 times), κρατερὸν δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλεν (3 times), ἔχων ἐν χερσίν (3 times). Nor are the expressions made up of a noun and an epithet or a patronymic more noticeable than those just quoted, though some may have wrongly thought them so. Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος might seem to one, who has not read much Homer, fully as forceful as the phrase Ὀρέστην παῖδα τὸν Ἀγαμέμνωνος, which Euripides, we said,¹ used to call up the legend, and this is the way that students just beginning the *Iliad* in Greek read the word. But when one has read the two poems, and has met the expression seven times more, usually in a context which gives us not the least idea of why Homer wished to mention the father of Achilles, one becomes indifferent to the patronymic, and ceases to look for a special meaning in its use. Besides that, one has found Λαερτιάδεω Ὀδυσῆος eleven times, Ἀγαμέμνωνος Ἀτρεΐδαο thirteen times, Νέστορ Νηληιάδῃ seven times, Ἑκτωρ Πριαμίδῃς eight times, Τυδέος υἱός thirty times, Ἀτρεός υἱός eleven times, not to speak of Πηλείδῃς or Πηλείων, patronymics which are used 93 times in the place of the hero's name. After that it is very hard to remember, each time one begins the *Iliad*, to find in Πηληϊάδεω the meaning which one gave it in its newness. What has just been said of the patronymic is likewise true of the epithet ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν, which is used not only 48 times elsewhere in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* of Agamemnon, but also of Anchises, Aeneas, Augeias, Euphetes, and Eumelos, none of whom is any more a king of men than is any other of the chief heroes; but all of them have names of the same metrical value as that of Agamemnon. Δῖος, the epithet of Achilles, appears again in A 145 with the name of Odysseus. Even here the beginner in Homer may still believe that these two heroes share the honor of being "divine," whatever that may mean. But when he has found the word used for Nestor (B 57), for Agamemnon (B 221), for Paris (Γ 329), and, before he has finished reading the two poems, for thirty-two different characters, many of them of no very great legend, and when he has met it as an epithet of some noun once in about every seventy verses, he at length forms the habit of scarcely heeding the word as he reads. Finally, if he ever found a sinister meaning in ἐκηβόλου, the epithet of Apollo in A 14, he will have to make very much of an effort to find it again after he has heard the god called by that word, or by ἐκατηβέλταο,

¹ P. 109.

ἐκάτοιο, ἐκάεργος, or ἐκατηβόλου, in twenty-nine other places. The fixed epithet in Homer is purely ornamental. It has been used with its noun until it has become fused with it into what is no more, so far as the essential idea goes, than another metrical form of the name. The reader knows the epithet and likes it, but it is the liking for what is familiar. He would be surprised if in a given passage the epithets were lacking, or were missing in certain known phrases; but when he does meet them he passes over them, scarcely heeding their meaning. The noun-epithet expressions are thus no more striking, if read rightly, than any other part of Homer's diction.¹ The case of ἐπεκλώσαντο θεοί in *a* 17, with its metaphor of spinning, is similar. The same verb is used in seven other places in the poems of the lot assigned to a man, and like ἔρκος ὁδόντων, 'the barrier of the teeth' (10 times), πολέμοιο γεφύρας 'the bridges of war' (5 times), or ὀλέθρου πείρατ' ἐφῆπται 'the cords of ruin are fastened' (4 times), and the fairly numerous other Homeric metaphors, its newness must have been lost long before Homer used it. This does not mean that the poetry has suffered either here or in the case of the fixed epithets; it is only a short-sighted judgment which would think of that. It means simply that the expression has found its place in the even level of this perfect narrative style, where no phrase, by its wording, stands out by itself to seize the attention of the hearers, and so stop the rapid movement of the thought, or, if one wishes, where every phrase has its perfection of style, so that the evenness of the diction comes not from its lack of what is striking, but

¹ I have shown more fully in *L'Épithète traditionnelle dans Homère* (Chap. IV: "*Le sens distinctif de l'épithète dans l'épos*") how the reader, through familiarity, becomes indifferent to the meaning of the fixed epithet. One will also find there other proofs for which there is no place here: the use of the fixed epithet in a contradictory context (ἀμύμονος Αἰγίσθοιο), the use of epithets of vague connotation (δαίφρων, δῖος, μέγας), the invariable use of epithets in certain type-verses (τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα in 251 cases out of 254 is followed by a noun-epithet formula), the restriction of certain epithets to certain grammatical cases (Odysseus is δῖος 99 times in the nominative and only once in an oblique case) the limitation of an epithet to nouns of the same metrical value (as in the case of ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν just mentioned, p. 123). In my paper on *The Homeric Gloss*, in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* LIX (1928), pp. 233-247, I added still another proof, showing that the survival and the use of the epithet-glosses (e.g., αἰγίλιψ, ἀργειφόντης) was to be explained only by the traditional inattention of the poet and the public for their meaning.

from its lack of any phrase which has not been accepted finally as the one best means for stating the idea.

It does not follow, because the style of Homer is even, that all the ideas of his poetry are equally forceful. There is hardly any need of pointing out the varying intensity of the thought within the fifty lines we are studying. Yet that intensity, where it appears, usually comes from the thought of the passage at that point, rather than from any certain expression. Very often, as one reads, the thought of some group of words will stand out, but it is usually the way in which they are used that makes them do so. The line which Homer uses in A 33 does not seem notable as one reads:

ὥς ἔφατ'· ἔδδεισεν δ' ὁ γέρων καὶ ἐπείθετο μύθῳ.

But when it appears again, in the scene between Priam and Achilles (Ω 571), it becomes one of the very pathetic verses in Homer. The words ἔνθ' ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες in α 11 bring us to the moment when the *Odyssey* opens, and to the situation with which the poem begins, and does so with an ease which leaves us wondering; in A 22 this same expression is used for a more ordinary transition. Likewise the half-verse Διὸς δ' ἐτελέετο βουλή is highly forceful in the prologue of the *Iliad*, but in λ 297, where it concludes Melampus's adventure with the cattle of Iphicles, it is in no way remarkable. Besides this last repeated phrase there are six others, of the 63 found in the fifty verses we are considering, which express what seem to be more than ordinarily effective ideas: οὐλομένην ἦ (A 2), ἰφθίμους ψυχάς (A 3), "Αἰδι προΐαψεν (A 3), ἔννεπε Μοῦσα (α 1), πολύτροπον ὅς (α 1), νήπιοι οἳ (α 8). "Ιφθίμος and πολύτροπος, it should be noted, are not ornamental epithets, but are used as an essential part of the thought.¹ It is then only to this extent of one out of every nine or ten that the repeated phrases of Homer are in any way like those which are found in later verse.

Having shown that the repeated phrases in Homer are only for a very small part to be classed as striking phrases, we must now go on to see if they are useful, since utility was a quality of the formula as we defined it.

¹ For the particularized epithet see *L'Épithète traditionnelle*, pp. 192-208, where the sense of πολύτροπος, and other epithets whose uses are not fixed, is discussed.

The technique of the formulas in Homer is vastly complex, but its general principle can be stated briefly. The Singers found and kept those expressions which without change, or with slight change, fall into that part of the hexameter which is determined by the rôle they play in the sentence. Since the problem of the poet is not only that of making a verse of six dactylic feet, but of fitting his words between the pauses within the verse, the formulas which express the most common ideas fall exactly between one pause in the verse and another, or between a pause and one of the verse-ends. The ways in which these formulas fit into the parts of the verse and join on to one another to make the sentence and the hexameter are very many, and vary for each type of formula. A full description of the technique is not to be thought of, since its complexity, which is exactly that of the ideas in Homer, is altogether too great. One must either limit oneself to a certain category of formulas, and describe their more frequent uses, as I have done in my study of the noun-epithet formulas, or one must take a certain number of formulas of different sorts which can be considered typical. We must choose the latter course. I shall thus consider the metrical usefulness of the first five repeated expressions which appear in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey*.

I. — Πηληιάδew 'Αχιλλῆος is one of a series of noun-epithet formulas, in the genitive, for gods and heroes: Λαερτιάδew 'Οδυσῆος, πατὴρ Διὸς αἰγυόχοιο, Διομήδεος ἵπποδάμοιο, Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο, ἀγαπήνορος Ἴδομενῆος, 'Αγαμέμνονος 'Ατρείδαο, Θηβαίου Τειρεσίαο, Ὑπερήνορος ἵπποδάμοιο, and so on. The usefulness of these formulas lies in the fact that they can finish with the verse a clause which is complete but for the genitive of a character's name; or that, if they do not finish it, they can bring the poet at any rate to the beginning of the next line where he can use formulas which regularly begin the verse. In the two cases where ἐκατηβόλου 'Απόλλωνος, a formula of this type, is used with μῆνιν, the sentence ends with the verse:

E 444 = Π 711 μῆνιν ἀλευάμενος ἐκατηβόλου 'Απόλλωνος.

In λ 387 another formula of the same type brings the clause as far as the verse-end, so that the poet can use the common device of beginning the next verse with a middle form of the participle:

ἦλθε δ' ἐπὶ ψυχῇ 'Αγαμέμνονος 'Ατρείδαο
ἀχνυμένη.

The formula in the first line of the *Iliad* renders a like service. It would be very hard at the best to put οὔλομένην ἦ in any other place in the verse than at the beginning, where it is found all of the five times it is used.¹

II. — Very common in Homer is the device of using an adjective followed by a relative clause to continue a sentence which might have come to an end with the preceding verse. This type of enjambement is found four times in the first hundred verses of the *Odyssey*: νήπιοι οἷ (v. 8), δυσμόρῳ ὅς (v. 49), μακρὰς αἶ (v. 54), ἀμβρόσια χρύσεια τά (v. 97).² One should compare with A 2 two passages from the *Odyssey*:

ρ 286 γαστέρα δ' οὐ πως ἔστιν ἀποκρῖνψαι μεμαυῖαν
οὔλομένην ἦ πολλὰ κάκ' ἀνθρώποισι δίδωσι . . .

ρ 473 αὐτὰρ ἔμ' Ἀντίνοος βάλε γαστέρος εἵνεκα λυγρῆς
οὔλομένης ἦ πολλὰ κάκ' ἀνθρώποισι δίδωσιν.

The verse which is repeated in these two cases differs in meaning from A 2 only in the word ἀνθρώποις. The formula which follows the tritheimeral caesura in E 876:

οὔλομένην ἦι τ' αἰὲν ἀήσυλα ἔργα μέμηλεν

is of the same type as that found in ε 67:

εἰνάλιναι τῆισιν τε θαλάσσια ἔργα μέμηλεν.

Indeed the play of formulas in this device of the appositive adjective extending to the middle of the second foot, followed by a relative clause which finishes the verse, seems so easy that one is tempted to make verses for oneself. Thus the line ξ 289:

τρώκτης ὅς δὴ πολλὰ κάκ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐώργει

becomes the following verse by the omission of δὴ, which is clearly used here to fill in the half-foot:

οὔλομένην ἦ πολλὰ κάκ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐώργει.

¹ For the use of noun-epithet formulas in the genitive see *L'Épithète traditionnelle*, pp. 69-78.

² For the relation between the forms of unperiodic enjambement and the need of the Singer for an easy versification, see *Enjambement in Homeric Verse*, p. 215.

III. — "Ἄλγε' ἔθηκεν in A 2 is of the very common type of formula which is made up of a verb and its direct object and falls after the bucolic diaeresis. To give only a few of the formulas which are directly like it there are τεύχε' ἔθηκε, εὐνιν ἔθηκε, κῦδος ἔθηκε, on the one hand, and on the other ἄλγε' ἔδωκε, ἄλγε' ἔπασχον, ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν, and the like. The uses of these formulas are much more varied than those of the noun-epithet formulas which serve to expand the simple name to a certain length, or than those of the longer types of formulas, such as the one just discussed, which make up an entire clause. For a shorter group of words such as ἄλγε' ἔθηκε expresses an idea which will be used with many kinds of formulas to make many different sentences. This formula thus belongs to the less obvious part of the technique; yet it would be false to suppose that it is any less helpful to the poet than the longer ones: it is chiefly in the formulas of these shorter types that lie the suppleness and the range of the diction, and their usefulness is to be measured by the many different kinds of other short formulas with which they combine, as in Κρονίδης Ζεὺς ἄλγε' ἔδωκεν (three times), ἀλώμενος ἄλγεα πάσχων (twice), and so on. A 2, however, is not the only verse where this type of formula is preceded by a dative. We find ἐπ' αὐτῶι κῦδος ἔθηκε (twice), and τῶι δευτέρωι ἵππον ἔθηκε. In X 422 ἄλγε' ἔθηκεν follows περὶ πάντων. This last expression falls very often before the bucolic diaeresis: περὶ πάντων ἔμμεναι ἄλλων, περὶ πάντων τῶν ἐταίρων, and the like. It should be noted that the poet has another formula of the same meaning as ἄλγε' ἔθηκε, but beginning with a single consonant, so that it can be used after a final vowel: κήδε' ἔθηκε (Φ 525, ψ 306). Such pairs of formulas are frequent: ἄλγεα θυμῶι and κήδεα θυμῶι, αἴσιμον ἡμαρ and νηλεές ἡμαρ, εὐχος ἀρέσθαι and κῦδος ἀρέσθαι, and so on.

IV. — In A 3 we have a formula which, but for the change of a word, fills a whole line and is itself a complete sentence. Verses of this kind are outdone in usefulness only by those used unchanged, and one would have such a line here if one wished to adopt ψυχάς, the variant reading to Λ 55, for κεφαλάς. But the difference after all is very slight, as one can judge by the many other verses in which the poet has shifted only a word, or two words such as:

Π 186 Εὐδωρον πέρι μὲν θείειν ταχὺν ἦδὲ μαχητὴν . . .

δ 202 Ἀντίλοχον πέρι μὲν θείειν ταχὺν ἦδὲ μαχητὴν.

V. — Διὸς δ' ἔτελείετο βουλή in A 5 is of the type of numerous other formulas which form a complete sentence in one half of the verse. It happens that the words which precede it here have no direct parallel, but θέσφατα πάντ' εἰπόντα which goes before it in λ 297 is like ἀγγε-λίην εἰπόντα in π 467. The formula appears in an altered form in Διὸς δ' ἐξείρετο βουλήν (twice). Other formulas which are used in this way as half verses are κρατερὸν δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλε (four times), παλάμη δ' ἔχε χάλκεον ἔγχος (twice), νεμεσσήθη δ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ (three times), and so on.

VI. — Μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα is one of the rare cases of a formula of any length which is found in more than one place in the verse. One can see how its place was determined by the play of the other formulas which have taken up their regular position in the line. It appears also in B 761:

τίς τ' ἄρ τῶν ὄχ' ἄριστος ἔην σύ μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα.

The beginning of the verse is that of A 8, which is likewise addressed to the Muse. "Οχ' ἄριστος and the related μέγ' ἄριστος fall regularly at this place, and ὄχ' ἄριστος ἔην is found three times. In the first verse of the *Odyssey* μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα falls before πολύτροπος ὅς which begins a series of formulas each of which has its fixed position.

VII. — Πολύτροπος ὅς, the first of these, appears again in κ 330:

ἦ σύ γ' Ὀδυσσεύς ἐσσι πολύτροπος ὃν τέ μοι αἰεὶ
φάσκεν ἐλεύσεσθαι χρυσόρραπις ἀργειφόντης.

Ὅν τέ μοι αἰεὶ appears in six other places at the verse-end. It is one of a numerous class of formulas made up of relative words, particles, pronouns, and adverbs, which begin a clause of which the principal words will be found in the next line. Examples are εἴ ποτε δὴ αὖτε, εἴ ποτε δὴ τι, οὐδέ νυ σοί περ, καί ἐ μάλιστα, and the like. In the verses just quoted the formula of this sort leads up to φάσκεν ἐλεύσεσθαι, which is of the same type as φῆσιν ἐλεύσεσθαι (α 168). In α 1 we find ὅς μάλα πολλά followed by πλάγχθη, which brings the sentence to the end of the clause. A like use of πλάζομαι, as a run-over word, occurs in ε 389:

ἔνθα δὴ νύκτας δύο τ' ἤματα κύματι πηγῶι
πλάζετο.

The use of a simple verb at the beginning of the verse, measured — ∪ and followed by ἐπεὶ, is found, for example, in σ 174: ἔρχευ ἐπεὶ. . . . This brings us by an unbroken chain of formulas to our next case.

VIII. — Τροίης ἱερὸν reappears in Π 100:

ὄφρ' οἶοι Τροίης ἱερὰ κρήδεμνα λύωμεν.

The line, after the first foot and a half, is no more than a variation of α 2, made necessary by the fact that λύωμεν, beginning with a consonant, cannot be joined to ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον. There is yet another variation of the verse in ν 388 where the metrical value of the verb does not allow it to be placed at the verse-end:

οἶον ὅτε Τροίης λύομεν λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα.

IX. — In κ 458 the poet used the fixed epithet of πόντος rather than the intensifying ὃν κατὰ θυμόν which is found in α 4:

ἦμὲν ὅσ' ἐν πόντῳ πάθετ' ἄλγεα ἰχθυόεντι.

Πάθεν ἄλγεα ὃν κατὰ θυμόν is one of a long series of formulas, all of which express in the different persons, numbers, moods, tenses, and cases of the participle the essential idea 'to suffer woes,' but each of which has its unique metrical value. A list of the formulas of this kind which fall at the end of the verse will give us some idea of the extent to which Homer had a formula for each metrical need:¹

After the fifth foot and a half:

πάθεν ἄλγεα (twice)

After the fourth foot:

ἄλγεα πάσχει (10 times)

ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν (4 times)

πήματα πάσχει (7 times)

πήμα πάθῃσιν (3 times)

After the third foot and a half:

πάθον ἄλγεα θυμῷ (6 times)

χαλέπ' ἄλγεα πάσχει

κρατέρ' ἄλγεα πάσχει (4 times)

κρατέρ' ἄλγε' ἔχοντα (4 times)

κακὰ κήδε' ἔχουσιν

κακὰ πολλὰ παθόντα (4 times)

κακὰ πολλὰ μογήσας (4 times)

After the third foot:

ἄλγεα πολλὰ μογήσας (4 times)

ἄλγεα πολλὰ πάθοιμεν

¹ The list of course omits the variation of endings. Thus ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν (once) represents also ἄλγε' ἔχοντα (twice) and ἄλγε' ἔχητον (once).

After the trochaic *cæ*sura of
the third foot:

πάθ' ἄλγεα δν κατὰ θυμόν
ἔχοντί περ ἄλγεα θυμῶι (twice)
κακῶς πάσχοντος ἐμεῖο
διζύομεν κακὰ πολλά

After the second foot and a
half:

πάθεν ἄλγεα δν κατὰ θυμόν
χαλεπὸν δέ τοι ἔσσεται ἄλγος

The help given the poet by these formulas is that each of them completes his verse, leaving him free to continue his thought by the formulas that begin the verse. One should not judge from this that the technique of formulas aims altogether at bringing the thought to a close at the end of the verse. It does do this often enough to bring it about that the thought comes to end in three out of every four verses in Homer, whereas in Apollonius and in Virgil it does so in only two out of every four verses.¹ But the technique also has its formulas which run the clause over into the following line. We have just studied in the case of *πολύτροπον ὃς μάλα πολλά* and *πολύτροπος ὃν τέ μοι αἰεὶ* two formulas of this kind.

X. — *ἰέμενός περ* is of the type of a large number of formulas: *ἀχνύμενός περ*, *κηδομένη περ*, *ἑσσύμενόν περ*, *γιγνόμενόν περ*, *οὐτάμενοί περ*, *τειρόμενοί περ*, and so on. These formulas can be joined on to the large number of clauses whose thought is brought to a point of completion at the bucolic *diæresis*, where they usually end with a verb, for the fourth foot of the hexameter is very well suited to the verb by its measure and its position.² One may see this in ε 324, which is a verse very much like α 6:

ἄλλ' οὐδ' ὥς σχεδὴς ἐπελήθετο τειρόμενός περ.

The verse ξ 142:

οὐδέ νυ τῶν ἔτι τόσσον ὀδύρομαι ἰέμενός περ

should be compared with X 424:

τῶν πάντων οὐ τόσσον ὀδύρομαι ἀχνύμενός περ.

¹ Cf. *Enjambement in Homeric Verse*, p. 204.

² Cf. *L'Épithète traditionnelle*, pp. 48 ff.

We have now found that there are formulas in Homer, one at least to every verse or so, for we have seen that the repeated expressions in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are really formulas. They express only for a small part ideas which are more than usually striking, and they form a part of a highly developed technique for making hexameters. What we have done then is to prove that the style of Homer, so far as the repeated expressions go, is altogether unlike that of any verse which we know was written.

But we have also seen a difference between Homer and the later poets which is not confined to the repetitions. We found only the slightest traces of schematization in the diction of Euripides, but we have had it continually before us in our study of Homer. First, we have had one measure of it in the simple number of the repetitions, and in the large number of times many of them appear. For, as was said at the beginning of our search, whenever a poet uses his words over, he is limiting his thought to a fixed pattern on the one hand, and on the other he is casting aside all the other possible ways in which the idea could be expressed. Secondly, we have seen, by the broken line used in the passages taken from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the large number of expressions which, though not repeated, are related to others of the same type. Finally, in showing the usefulness of the repeated expressions we did nothing more than find the systems of formulas to which they belonged. One must not overlook this fact that the schematization of the diction is always due to the fact that the poet is using, to express an idea, the same device which he had used to express one more or less like it. The rôle played by analogy as a guide to the poet in his choice of terms is one which, we shall see, can be fully understood only when one sees the relation between the play of sound and the thought of the poet, but at no moment should one forget that the use of like formulas is a direct means of overcoming the difficulty of expressing ideas in hexameters.

The systems which were given to show the utility of the repeated expressions in Homer were often made up of phrases found only once in the two poems. That these expressions were formulas, however, was clear. We could not observe them in different places, and thus prove their regular usage, but we saw that they belong to particular

artifices of versification which have a fixed place in the diction. We have thus brought into the category of formulas not only the repeated expressions, but those which are of the same type as others. In the two passages analyzed above I marked with a broken line only those formulas which were like others in rhythm, in parts of speech, and in one important word; but there are more general types of formulas, and one could make no greater mistake than to limit the formulaic element to what is underlined. *Γιγνώσκω σε θεά* in E 815 is like *μῆνιν ἄειδε θεά* in A 1, since in both cases one has a complete clause of the same length, followed by the vocative *θεά*. The similarity between *Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκε* and *ἐπ' αὐτῶι κῦδος ἔθηκε* has been noted. *Πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς* in A 3 is an accusative phrase of the same length as *πολλὰς δὲ δρυὺς ἄζαλέας* (A 494), and *πολλὰς δὲ στίχας ἡρώων* (Υ 326). If one excepts the change from accusative to nominative, the formula *ψυχὰς* "Αἰδι προΐαψεν is paralleled by *ψυχὰι δ' Αἰδόσδε κατῆλθον* (H 330, κ 560, λ 65). The use of *ἡρώων* at the beginning of a verse, followed by a new clause, appears in I 525, and *Ἀργείων* is often used in the same way. *Τεύχε κύνεσσιν* is like *δῶκεν ἐταίρωι* (P 698, Ψ 612). Often one finds the same verse-pattern where the words are different:

A 10 *νοῦσον ἄνὰ στρατὸν ὥρσε κακὴν, δλέκοντο δὲ λαοί . . .*

A 20 *παῖδα δ' ἔμοι λύσαιτε φίλην, τὰ δ' ἄποινα δέχεσθαι . . .*

α 23 *Αἰθίοπας τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαΐαται ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν . . .*

O 526 *Λαμπετίδης δν Λάμπος ἐγείνατο φέρτατος ἀνδρῶν.*

Even in the very limited amount of poetry in which we are searching for like expressions there are, with the exception of those phrases used more or less often to express some special idea, as, for example, *ἐπ' ἐτοῖμα προκείμενα* quoted above,¹ very few which do not fall into some closer or some more general system; and one must never forget that the results of any analysis of this sort are conditioned by the hazard that has given us under the name of Homer not quite twenty-eight thousand verses. If we had a greater or a smaller number, we should have underlined either more or fewer expressions when we analyzed the first verses of the *Iliad* and of the *Odyssey*. If we had even twice as much of Homer's poetry as we have, the proportions

¹ P. 84. For the special formula see *L'Épithète traditionnelle*, pp. 96-99.

between the repeated expressions, the closer types of formulas, and the more general types, would be much changed, and we should very often find that Homer was using a formula a second time where, as far as our evidence goes, he is only using a formula which is like another. But as it is we have verses enough to show us the vast difference between the style of Homer and that of poetry which we know was written: we have found that the schematization, of which there were only the faintest traces in later poetry, reaches almost everywhere, if not everywhere, in the diction of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

6. THE TRADITIONAL ORAL STYLE

Having shown this difference we must now look for its causes. Did this style of Homer's come into being through one poet or many, in a short time or over many years? And why should Homer have wished to use a formulaic diction?

The direct proof that the style of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is traditional is, of course, the schematization of the diction itself, and the number of artifices of verse-making which make up this schematization. It is not possible, for example, that one man by himself could work out more than the smallest part of the series of formulas of the type Πηληιάδεω Ἀχιλῆος. We may make ourselves believe that the one poet who composed both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* first used οὐλομένην ἦ, which is found three times in the first poem and as often in the other, yet we cannot go on endlessly adding νῆπιοι οἳ (5 times), δύσμορος ὅς (6 times), σχέτλιος ὅς (4 times), νηλεὲς ὅς (II 204), and so on. One cannot grant the same poet ἰέμενός περ (10 times), ἀχνύμενός περ (13 times), κηδομένη περ (11 times), οὐτάμενοί περ (4 times), and yet more. Virgil, striving to do as Homer, was able to repeat in the *Aeneid* 92 verses. How many of the 1804 repeated verses in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* can we then give to one poet, for whom we shall have to find I know not what reasons to repeat himself, since he could scarcely have had those which led Virgil to do so? Finally, how could one man even have made a beginning of the technique of the diction as a whole in which the various types of formulas accord with one another so well? Indeed, the more one studies the formulas in Homer and the artifices of their use, the more one sees what efforts have gone to their making. One may well say that the single series of formulas πάθεν ἄλγεα, ἄλγεα

πάσχει, and so on, is by itself alone far beyond the power of any one man. For the formulas are not only too ingenious to be the work of the one poet of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*; they are also too good. The epithets, the metaphorical expressions, the phrases for the binding of clauses, the formulas for running the sentence over from one verse into another, the grouping of words and phrases within the clause and within the verse, all this is many times beyond whatever supreme creative genius for words one could imagine for the poet Homer.

Moreover, we know that the Homeric diction was centuries making. The linguists have shown us that the language of the Homeric poems, which was once given the mistaken name of Old Ionic, is an artificial language, made up of words and forms taken from the current Ionic, from Aeolic, even from Arcado-Cyprian dialects; and along with these are artificial forms which could never have existed in the speech of any people.¹ The epic poets kept the older or foreign forms and words, and adopted or created new ones, in order to have a language which would suit the hexameter. The scholars who have thus finally given us the answer to the ancient question of Homer's dialect have, however, not seen clearly enough that the survival of the older forms is due not to their metrical value alone, but also to the fact that they occur in traditional formulas. There is no reason, for example, why the Aeolic prefix ἐρι- should not have been changed to the Ionic ἀρι-.² Yet beside ἀριδείκετε λαῶν (6 times), and ἀριδείκετος ἀνδρῶν (twice), and so on, we find: ἐρίηρες ἐταῖροι (20 times), ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἥρης (7 times), ἐριαύχενες ἵπποι (5 times), Τροίην ἐριβόλακα (5 times), Θρήκης ἐριβόλακος (twice), Τάρνης ἐριβόλακος, and so on. Since the presence of ἀρι- in the poems shows that the epic poets were not consciously archaizing in their use of the Aeolic prefix — and they archaize knowingly only when the metre leads them to it — we know that the series of formulas just given goes back to a time before the Ionians had learned the traditional formulaic style from the Aeolic Greeks. More

¹ Cf. Kurt Witte, *Homer, B) Sprache* in Pauly-Wissowa, XVI (1913), coll. 2213-2238; K. Meister, *Die Homerische Kunstsprache* (Leipzig, 1921); M. Parry, *L'Épithète traditionnelle*, pp. 4-8.

² For the Aeolic forms in Homer cf. K. Witte, *op. cit.* coll. 2214-2223; A. Meillet, *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue Grecque*² (Paris, 1920), pp. 120-127; C. Buck, *Greek Dialects*,¹ pp. 135-140.

usually, however, the older forms are kept because the epic poets would otherwise have had to give up the formula altogether. The presence in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey* of Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω (8 times), and θεοὶ δόσαν ἀγλαὰ δῶρα (4 times), warns us not to seek to change Πηληιάδεω Ἀχιλῆος (8 times), with its Ionic ending, to Πηληιάδα' Ἀχιλῆος, though there is no doubt that the Aeolic poets used it thus. But in μητίετα Ζεὺς (19 times),¹ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο (19 times), Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο (6 times), μελαινάων ἀπὸ νηῶν (7 times), μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι (7 times), the Ionic poets had to keep the Aeolic endings or lose the formulas. Likewise we have Aeolic ἄλλυδῖς in ἄλλυδῖς ἄλλῃ (8 times), περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν (3 times) beside its Ionic form περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν (3 times), ἀνὰ πτολέμοιο γεφύρας (3 times) beside ὁμοίου πολέμοιο (8 times), which falls at the verse-end where the poetry did not allow a syllable to contain a long vowel and be followed at the same time by two consonants.² It is certain in this last case that the formula represents an older ὁμοίῳ πτολέμοιο. But we also have στυγέρου πολέμοιο (twice) which must remain.³ Κακομηχάνου ὀκρυσέσσης (Z 344), however, can only stand for an earlier κακομηχάνοο κρυσέσσης. The epic poets preserved the formula by creating the strange but easily understood ὀκρυσέσσης. But the antiquity of certain parts of the formulaic diction goes back even before the time when the Aeolic Greeks either learned this diction for the first time, or fused the lays of another Greek people with their own. We find in Homer a number of words which, in historical times, occur only in the dialects spoken in Arcadia or in the island of Cyprus: αἶσα, ἄμαρ, φάναξ, ἀνώγω, εὐχολά, κέλευθος, οἶφος, and so on.⁴ To these Arcado-Cyprian dialects has been given the name of Achæan, since it would seem that they are the remnant of the language spoken by those Greeks who were powerful in Greece

¹ Μητίετῃς would cause overlengthening, for which see the following note.

² On overlengthening in the last two and a half feet of the hexameter, see *L'Épithète traditionnelle*, pp. 52, 113-114, 237.

³ The genitive in -οο is probably not the older Ionic form of -ον, but the original of the Arcado-Cyprian -ω. The retention of ι in the original ending -οιο, is confined to Thessalian. The form πτόλις, found in Cyprian, Arcadian, and Cretan, and πτόλεμος glossed as Cyprian, are Achæan, unless one wishes to accept the Thessalian οἱ πτολιάρχαι as evidence of a possible Aeolic origin. Cf. Buck, *op. cit.*, pp. 57, 81.

⁴ Cf. Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 132; C. M. Bowra, *Homeric Words in Arcadian Inscriptions*, in *Classical Quarterly*, XX (1926), pp. 168-176.

and the Aegean before the Dorians came. If E. Forrer's translations of the Hittite tablets found at Boghaz-Keui is correct, an Achaean chief of the thirteenth century went by the title of *κοίρανος*.¹ There is of course no need to suppose that all the formulas in Homer which contain Achaean words go back to a time before the coming of the Dorians, since it is very possible that the later poets may have used one of the old words in a new formula, but in many cases it is easier to accept the antiquity of the formula than explain it by such a hazard. *Δῖσιμον ἡμαρ* (4 times), for example, is made up of two such Achaean words: *ἡματα πάντα* (27 times) appears in fifth-century prose inscriptions from Mantinea and Tegea. One can only guess at the age of *νηλεής*, in which appears the prefix *νη-* which had disappeared from spoken Greek before the historical period: this word is found nine times in *νηλεὲς ἡμαρ*. Most important, perhaps, of all the Achaean words is *αὐτάρ*, found only in Cyprian. The use of this word, of which we have given one of the systems above,² is so far-reaching in Homeric style that we must either accept the high antiquity of many of the most common phrases for joining clauses in the hexameter, or say that the later Greeks just happened to sieze upon what was to them no more than a helpful poetic word to use in many of their most common formulaic devices. It is hard to believe in such a curious chance. Finally, the age of certain parts of the diction, as well as of the form of the hexameter, is shown by the great number of noun-epithet formulas in which the meaning of the epithet has been lost to us, as it must have to Homer also, for otherwise we must suppose a rapidity of change in spoken Ionic which would be without a linguistic parallel.³

It may still seem to some at this point that the schematization of the diction, and the age of parts of it, prove that most of Homer's style is traditional, but still leave room for the creation of phrases by the single poet. One could answer simply that the expressions created within the systems, by following the fixed types, would have none of

¹ E. Forrer, *Die Griechen in den Boghazköi-Texten in Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, XXVII (1924), pp. 114-118.

² P. 85.

³ Cf. M. Parry, *The Homeric Gloss in Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, LIX (1928), pp. 233-247.

the newness which the term 'originality' suggests to us, and that those created outside the systems, if there are any besides the special formulas, are too few to call for much thought. But in treating of the oral nature of the Homeric style we shall see that the question of a remnant of individuality in Homeric style disappears altogether.

It is of course the pattern of the diction which, as in the matter of the authorship of the style, proves by its very extent that the Homeric style is oral. It must have been for some good reason that the poet, or poets, of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* kept to the formulas even when he, or they, had to use some of them very frequently. What was this constraint that thus set Homer apart from the poets of a later time, and of our own time, whom we see in every phrase choosing those words which alone will match the color of their very own thought? The answer is not only the desire for an easy way of making verses, but the complete need of it. Whatever manner of composition we could suppose for Homer, it could be only one which barred him in every verse and in every phrase from the search for words that would be of his own finding. Whatever reason we may find for his following the scheme of the diction, it can be only one which quits the poet at no instant. There is only one need of this sort which can even be suggested — the necessity of making verses by the spoken word. This is a need which can be lifted from the poet only by writing, which alone allows the poet to leave his unfinished idea in the safe keeping of the paper which lies before him, while with whole unhurried mind he seeks along the ranges of his thought for the new group of words which his idea calls for. Without writing, the poet can make his verses only if he has a formulaic diction which will give him his phrases all made, and made in such a way that, at the slightest bidding of the poet, they will link themselves in an unbroken pattern that will fill his verses and make his sentences.

This necessity which oral verse-making sets upon the poet shows its force most clearly, as has been said, in the simple number of formulas found in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey*; but there are also many cases in which that force can be measured by its effect upon the single phrase. The greater number of metrical irregularities in Homer come in the play of the formulas, either from a change within the formula, as when *υἱὸς Πηλεΐδω* (3 times) becomes *υἱὲ Πηλεΐδω* (Δ 338), or from the

grouping of formulas which will not join to one another without fault, as in the following example. Homer makes a large number of verses by joining to different predicates, which fill just one half of the verse, subjects of the type *πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε*, *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων*, and so on. By this pattern he made τ 59 and τ 102:

ἔνθα καθέζετ' ἔπειτα περίφρων Πηνελόπεια . . .

ἔνθα καθέζετ' ἔπειτα πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.

He could have made just as many verses of this sort as he had noun-epithet formulas in the nominative, falling after the trochaic cæsure of the third foot, and beginning with a simple consonant. But for Telemachus, whose name has a measure which bars it from forming in the latter part of the hexameter any formula save the little used type *Τηλέμαχος θεοειδής* (5 times), he had only *Ὀδυσσῆος φίλος υἱός* (9 times), which begins with a vowel. Nevertheless, the force of the formulas and the pattern of the verse was so strong upon him that he made π 48:

ἔνθα καθέζετ' ἔπειτα Ὀδυσσῆος φίλος υἱός.

In the same way, on the type of formula found five times in the following verse:

τέκνον ἐμόν ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων;

and in Δ 350 = Ξ 83:

Ἀτρεΐδῃ ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων;

he made γ 230:

Τηλέμαχε ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων;

The type of formula found in the first verse of the *Iliad* has entered into the making of τ 35:

μῆνιν ἀποειπὼν Ἀγαμέμνονι ποιμένι λαῶν.

It is not until we have read forty verses farther in the poem, however, that we find the direct model of this incorrect line:

μῆνιν ἀπειπόντος μεγαθύμου Πηλείωνος.

This verse in turn belongs to the system in which falls E 444 = Π 711:

μῆνιν ἀλευάμενος ἑκατηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος.

One should note especially that in this case as in that of π 48, just quoted, the incorrect verse occurs before its correct model. In neither place was the poet altering a line he had just used, but was composing after the pattern which he had in his mind. Now it is not possible that the metrical irregularities of the sort which have been given, and they are very numerous in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey*,¹ could occur in any but an oral poetry. The poet who makes verses at the speed he chooses will never be forced to leave a fault in his verse, but the Singer, who without stopping must follow the stream of formulas, will often be driven to make irregular lines. In such cases it is not the poet who is to blame, but his technique, which is not proof against all fault, and which, in the unhesitating speed of his composition, he cannot stop to change.

But there is more to show the oral nature of Homer's diction than the need of explaining why he limited his thought to the formulas and made faulty verses. There is also the diction itself. First, there is a fairly large number of cases where the pure sound of one expression has suggested another which is altogether unlike it in meaning. Thus some Singer, whether Homer or another, when he had to express the idea 'along with the clouds,' thought of the words ὁμοῦ νεφέεσσιν (E 867), simply because his mind was guided by the echo of ὁμοῦ νεκύεσσιν (O 118), 'among the dead'; or perhaps it was the latter phrase which was the model. The only examples of this sort that I have found in Euripides are ἀξένου πόρου,² made after Εὐξείνου πόρου,³ and αὐτὸς ἀνταπωλόμην,⁴ made after αὐθις ἀνταπώλετο.⁵ One case at first sight seems to come near what we find in Homer: we read in the *Andromeda*: ἔα· τίν' ὄχθον τόνδ' ὀρώ,⁶ and in the *Cyclops*: ἔα· τίν' ὄχλον τόνδ'

¹ For other examples see M. Parry, *Les Formules et la métrique d'Homère* (Paris, 1928), which is devoted to a study of such cases.

² *Iphigenia in the Tauric Land* 253, 1388.

³ *Andromache* 1262.

⁴ *Helen* 106.

⁵ *Suppliants* 743.

⁶ Fr. 124:
 ἔα· τίν' ὄχθον τόνδ' ὀρώ περιρρυτον
 ἀφρώι θαλάσσης; παρθένου τ' εἰκώ τινα
 ἐξ αὐτομόρφων λαίων τυκισμάτων
 σοφῆς ἄγαλμα χειρός.

ὄρῳ.¹ This would be no more than a faint parallel to the Homeric verses:

Θ 395 ἡμὲν ἀνακλῖναι πυκινὸν νέφος ἢδ' ἐπιθεῖναι . . .

λ 525 ἡμὲν ἀνακλῖναι πυκινὸν λόχον ἢδ' ἐπιθεῖναι

Here, by the change of four letters, the verse 'to throw ajar the thick cloud, or set it to,' becomes 'to open the door of our shrewd ambush, or set it to.' But the source of the Euripidean phrase becomes clear when we find Aristophanes using it in a ridiculous scene in his comedy *The Women at the Thesmaphoria*,² which means that Euripides was answering Aristophanes' mockery by mocking himself. Thus only by a planned comic use of words does the Attic dramatist do what the epic poets did without thinking.³ Other examples in

¹ Vv. 222 ff.:
 ξα· τὶν' ὄχλον τόνδ' ὄρῳ πρὸς αὐλοῖς;
 ληισταὶ τινες κατέσχον ἢ κλῶπες χθόνα;
 ὄρῳ γέ τοι τοῦσδ' ἄρνας ἐξ ἄντρων ἐμῶν
 στρεπταῖς λόγοισι σῶμα συμπεπλεγμένους
 τεύχη τε τυρῶν συμμιγῇ γέροντά τε
 πληγαῖς πρόσωπον φαλακρὸν ἐξωιδηκότα.

² Vv. 1105 ff.:
 ξα· τὶν' ὄχθον τόνδ' ὄρῳ καὶ παρθένον
 θεαῖς ὁμοίαν ναῦν ὅπως ὠρμισμένην.

Aristophanes and the Athenian public, it would seem, found the use of "Lo! I see . . ." very ridiculous upon the stage. So far as I know, no editor has noted the relation of these verses to the lines in the *Cyclops*, nor used it to date this play, which we may suppose to have been written in the year following that of the comedy of Aristophanes, when it was still fresh in the mind of the Athenians. If we accept 410 (Rogers) as the date of *The Women at the Thesmaphoria*, the *Cyclops* would belong to 409. R. Marquart, in *Die Datierung des Euripideischen Kyklops* (Halle, 1912), concluded, on the grounds of language, meters, dramatic technique, scenery and costuming, and possible reminiscences of other works, that the play, commonly assigned to the poet's earlier years, was to be placed after the *Iphigenia in the Tauric Land* (414-412 according to Murray) and the *Helen* (412), and before the *Phoenicians* (411-409) and the *Orestes* (408).

³ The only unusual case of this sort which I know outside the epic is in English poetry. Twice in *Paradise Lost* Milton uses the forceful line

The serpent, subtlest beast of all the field . . .

(VII, 495 and IX, 86). Then once more he writes:

Thee, Serpent, subtlest beast of all the field

I knew . . .

(IX, 560). It may be that the poet's dependence upon his hearing had something

Homer in which the sound of words has suggested the terms of statement for an unlike idea are the following. The likeness of νήεσσι to νήσοισι has given us the verses K 214 and α 245 = π 122 = τ 130:

ὅσσοι γὰρ νήεσσιν ἐπικρατέουσιν ἄριστοι . . .

ὅσσοι γὰρ νήσοισιν ἐπικρατέουσιν ἄριστοι.

The likeness of ἡδέ to ἦλθε has suggested one or the other of these two verses:

Υ 34 ἡδὲ Ποσειδάων γαιήοχος ἡδ' ἐριούνης
'Ερμείας . . .

θ 322 ἦλθε Ποσειδάων γαιήοχος, ἦλθ' ἐριούνης
'Ερμείας.

The line B 581:

οἱ δ' εἶχον κοίλην Λακεδαίμονα κητώεσσαν

was the model of δ 1, in which the relative οἱ becomes a demonstrative:

Οἱ δ' ἴξον κοίλην Λακεδαίμονα κητώεσσαν.

Apollo and Athena both take the form of a man named Mentès:

Ρ 73 ἀνέρι εἰσάμενος Κικόνων ἡγήτορι Μέντη . . .

α 105 εἰδομένη ξείνῳ Ταφίων ἡγήτορι Μέντη.

Of shorter expressions we find ἀμφήλυθεν ἡδὺς ἀντμή (μ 369) and ἀμφήλυθε θήλυς ἀντή (ζ 122), ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων (37 times), and ἄναξ ἐνέρων Ἀιδωνεύς (Υ 61), and so on.¹ There is in most of these cases nothing to show us which of the expressions is the model and which the copy, nor do we know that it was Homer who was thus guided in his language by the play of sound, since it is more likely that he knew both original and copy as separate formulas. This, however, affects

to do with this. He may even have made the verse thinking of those he knew in Homer:

καί μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα (29 times)

καί μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα (9 times).

¹ For other cases of this sort, and a discussion of the artistic value of such a method of creation, see *L'Épique traditionnelle*, pp. 89-92.

our conclusions in no way; we are merely saying that the traditional style which Homer used was oral, and not that Homer's style was so.

It is largely chance that has given us these expressions in which we find likeness of sound without likeness of idea; yet we would have known just as well without them that Homer's style was oral. For there is a simple, almost too obvious, fact to show it: namely, that there is no memory of words save by the voice and the ear. We who have lived our lives with books, and have read much, often reach a point, at least for prose, where the words upon the printed page are more symbols for ideas than the record of speech; and it is our eyes which carry to our minds the author's thought, rather than our ears. Yet if we would remember any sentence, even any phrase, we must say it to ourselves either aloud or beneath our breath, until the organs of our voice will repeat, at our bidding, the gesture of its utterance. There are some, they say, who can recall whole sentences or even passages because they can picture to themselves the way they look in print. In the same way school-boys remember the place of Greek accents, being unable to make with their voices any sound for which they would stand; and we also know that one can learn a foreign language in a way by learning to tell the idea from the printed image of the words and phrases, and that one can even write sentences of a sort by grouping together such images by a purely visual process. But as there is no real knowledge of a language thus learned, so is there no real memory without sound. As a rule we are unable to recall a single phrase of the book we have read silently. The poet who is repeating his own phrase, or that of another, is doing so by ear. To deny this for any poet is to suppose impossible things. The repeated phrases in Virgil, then, would become, as it were, labels which the poet fitted into his verse in the same way that one pieces together a puzzle, and not, as we know they were, expressions which were judged in every part by his sensitive feeling for sound. And would one dare to say that Pope had never heard the phrase he took from Milton: "thick as autumnal leaves"?

We know Virgil's practice of dictation, and of reading his verses to his friends, but we do not have to suppose that he spoke aloud every phrase which he had used over; nor did Pope necessarily have read to him all the poems of Milton from which he borrowed. He may

have muttered the words, or have spoken them to himself beneath the hearing of any other person. But memorizing under one's breath is possible only up to a certain point. Pope may thus have learned all the phrases of Milton which he knew by heart, and Virgil most of what he repeated, though it is hard to believe that. But when we come to Homer such a thing is beyond reason. Would he, by the conning of long manuscripts of epic poetry, have learned the thousands of whole verses, the thousands of verse-parts, which make up the traditional diction? And we must suppose that the authors of all those manuscripts in turn had learned just as faithfully in the same way the countless mass of formulas, and so on back. But the argument has reached the absurd, and we are trying to suppose an oral poetry in an undertone. Homer could only have learned his formulas by hearing them spoken in the full voice of those poets to whom he listened from his childhood.

Homer learning his formulas from manuscript is no harder to imagine than Homer using his formulas to write verses. He is then keeping his thought to them not because he has to, but because he wants to. His is a strange game in which he must fit into his written lines only those phrases which have been used by others. Each one of the eighty-eight times he uses *τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε*, followed by a noun-epithet formula, or the hundreds of times he uses *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ* at the beginning of the verse, or whenever he uses any formula whatsoever, he is showing his skill in choosing the old expression, his stern disregard of all the new groups of words which, since his writing materials gave him time to pause, must have crowded annoyingly about his head. And this is the way we must suppose him to have made almost all, if not all, of his poetry. If one wishes to think that Homer composed his poems orally, and then sat down and wrote them out, there is little that can be said in disproof, and little that needs to be said, since the question ceases to be one of the oral style, and becomes that of the way in which the spoken poetry was recorded.

So far we have said only that the formula itself must be a thing of sound and not of sight. We now come to the last of proofs that the diction of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is oral, and to the one which is most precious for our understanding of Homer: the technique of the formulas is one which could only be created and used by oral poets.

Each system of formulas comes, in the last analysis, from some single expression. The simple fact that two phrases are too closely alike to be due to chance implies that one of them imitates the other, or that they go back to a common model. There was one formula, what one we shall never know, from which comes all the system found in Homer: δῖος Ἀγήνωρ, δῖος Ἀλάστωρ, δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς, δῖος Ἐπειγέυς, δῖος Ἐπειός, δῖος Ἐχέφρων, δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς, δῖος ὑφορβός. More than that, there was one noun-epithet formula which was the beginning of all the larger system δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς, μητίετα Ζεὺς, πότνια Ἥρη, φαίδιμος Ἔκτωρ, and so on. Likewise, all the formulas of the system αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἵκοντο, αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἤγερθεν, and the like, go back to one source, as does the type of verse we see in the two following lines:

A 121 τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς . . .

B 402 αὐτὰρ ὁ βοῦν ἱέρευσεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων.

When one multiplies these cases by the number of the systems in the Homeric diction, one sees that the formation of the style was of a very special sort. The Singers, ever seeking to reduce the terms of their expression to the simplest pattern, used for this end the means of analogy.¹ That is to say, wherever they could obtain a new formula by altering one which was already in use, they did so, and this they did up to the point where the complexity of the ideas which must be expressed in their poetry put a stop to this making of systems. This means of forming the system is quite different from that which would have been followed if it were the usefulness of the formula alone which led the poets to make it and keep it, for then we should find a diction in which there would be formulas, but few of them would have the same words as another. Instead of ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων and ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Αἰνείας, we should have had formulas with different epithets. We should not find τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα joined with twenty-seven different noun-epithet formulas, but many different kinds of lines for announcing a character's answer. But such is not the nature of the epic diction, which so much preferred to use the same words where it could that there are in all the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* only forty fixed epithets that are used for single heroes, beside sixty-one that are used for two

¹ On the place of analogy in the formation of the Homeric diction, see *L'Épithète traditionnelle*, pp. 85-94.

or more.¹ Thus we have *δῖος* in the nominative used of twelve characters, *θεοειδής* of fourteen, *ἥρως* of ten, *δουρικλυτός* of eight, and so on. In these cases, and in all others, we see the sound of the words guiding the Singers in their formation of the diction. Nor is the factor of sound limited to the formulas where the same words appear; it appears equally in the more general types where the likeness of sound consists in the like rhythm. The sound of the words has not acted so willfully in the creation of the systems as it has in the case of those formulas which we noted above, in which it has gone so far as to give the poetry its ideas. Here it has followed the thought which the Singers wished to express, though it imposed rigorous limits for that thought; yet whereas in the one place it created only a certain number of isolated phrases, it here has had an influence as far-reaching as the schematization of the style.

This formation of the traditional diction belongs, of course, to a time far earlier than that in which Homer lived, but the making of the diction is in no way different from a single poet's use of it. One can say that the Singer, in a recitation of a few hours, repeats the history of his style, for it is the play of sound which guides him in his grouping of the formulas, quite in the way that it had guided the poets of an older time in their making of them. As they had made for him *οὐδέ με πείσεις, οὐδέ με λήσει, οὐδέ ἔφημι*, and so on, to be used at the verse-end, even so, when he has ended a sentence at the bucolic diæresis, he is led by the habitual movement of his voice to these formulas. Or at the beginning of a verse, when he has another sort of transition to use and a certain act to tell, he will be guided by his feeling for what there is in common in the sound of such a system as *νῦν δ' ἐθέλω, νῦν δ' ἔχομαι, νῦν δ' ἦλθον*, or *οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἔκοντο, οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ σκέδον ἦσαν*, and so on. And it is here, finally, that we can see why we should not seek in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey* for Homer's own style. The poet is thinking in terms of the formulas. Unlike the poets who wrote, he can put into verse only those ideas which are to be found in the phrases which are on his tongue, or at the most he will express ideas so like those of the traditional formulas that he himself would not know them apart. At no time is he seeking words for an idea which has never before found expression, so that the question of originality in style

¹ Cf. *L'Épithète traditionnelle*, pp. 104-118.

means nothing to him. It may here occur to some to ask how the diction was ever made if one thus grants the Singer no power to change it. It is to be answered that the years of its first making belong to a very dim past, and were also those of its least perfection; then, that we may well suppose for the single poet a very few cases where the play of words has suggested some new epithet, or phrase, or verse, which the other Singers found worth using and keeping, but that there could never be more than a few such creations for any one Singer, and they could win a place in the diction only as they were in accord with what was traditional, and fitted the habits of verse-making of the other poets. Indeed, in certain places in the poems we can see how certain very effective phrases or verses were made. The wondrously forceful line:

Π 776 = ω 40 κείτο μέγας μεγαλωστί λελασμένος ἵπποσυνάων

is made up of verse-parts found in other parts of the poems: κείτο μέγας (M 381); μέγας μεγαλωστί (Σ 18); λελασμένος ὅσσ' ἐπέπονθεν (ν 92); λελάσμεθα θούριδος ἀλκῆς (Λ 313). There is a striking play on the name of Odysseus in α 62: τί νύ οἱ τόσον ὠδύσαιο, Ζεῦ; which is made after ἐπεὶ μέγας ὠδύσατο Ζεύς, which is found in Σ 292. There are in all the poems only two other places where Ζεῦ is found at the verse-end: μητίετα Ζεῦ (Α 508) and εὐρύοπα Ζεῦ (Π 241). That Homer might, by a like new play of formulas, have added to the great wealth of the traditional style is possible, but we shall never know, since if he did so he was guided by the same play of words and phrases as all those other poets who, bit by bit, and through the many years, had made this best of all styles.

LUCRETIIUS AND THE AESTHETIC ATTITUDE

BY GERALD FRANK ELSE

Quis potis est dignum pollenti pectore carmen
Condere pro rerum maiestate hisque repertis?
LUCRETIIUS V, 1-2.

I

THERE is a side of ancient thought which is more neglected by modern thought than it should be: it is the outward-turning side. Plato is still the philosopher's bible almost as much as he ever was, and even Aristotle is not unknown to us. But who knows anything — really anything — about Thales, Anaximander, and the rest of the Ionians, who cut merely a picturesque figure in the first chapter of any history of philosophy, with their theories of Fire, Water, and the like, or even anything about that strange person Democritus, the atomist and laughing philosopher? Yet I sometimes think that they are the most characteristic examples of the Greek mind directed seriously toward the world, as Plato is the formulated insight of the good man looking into himself. Those of the physicists who were also poets, like Empedocles, represent to me the Golden Age when poetry and the real world had not yet parted company. But the one man who stands for that most clearly in my mind is Lucretius,¹ the latest of them and the best preserved for us. His attitude has parallels in more recent philosophers, and perhaps it is possible even yet to an intelligent and sensitive man.

II

Lucretius has made for himself an ambiguous fame. Nowadays, if the word 'atheist' were not felt to be a little harsh for literary criticism, we should say with Dryden, "He was so much an Atheist, that he forgot sometimes to be a Poet."² One hears him spoken of either as a poet *malgré lui*, or as a poet who allowed a prosaic and ignoble philos-

¹ This essay on Lucretius was submitted to the Departments of Classics and of Philosophy as a partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of A.B.

² Preface to *Sylvae* (translations).

ophy to absorb his genius. He himself seems to invite both these doubtful praises in the unforgettable passage in which he speaks of "touching all things with the Muses' charm,"¹ like those who smear the edge of the medicine-cup with honey to coax a reluctant child — as if his philosophy were bitter (*tristior*, he calls it) but healthful, his poetry sweet but artificial. Because most men have found his philosophy neither bitter nor healthful, but dull, his poem is usually sliced into purple patches containing the Muses' charm, and long, grey flats of exposition. That is exactly what I protest against; it is unfair to the real excellence of Lucretius, and he himself expresses the truth in the two lines I have put at the beginning of this essay. They are meant to suggest that his particular poetry and his particular philosophy are inseparable and vital to each other. Lucretius is not a poet with a speculative turn, another Aeschylus or Euripides, another Goethe or Shelley; he is the convinced and passionate expounder of a system in verse. His system never yields to the easy lure of conventional poetry. "Although these things are well, nay excellently expressed," he says of the gaudy myths of Cybele, "yet they are far removed from truth";² and he has nothing but scorn for those who are awed by the dark words of Heraclitus, "and consider true whatever strikes their ears neatly or is adorned with pleasant sound."³ In accordance with this ideal of integrity he does not use ornaments which are inconsistent with his first principles. Probably Lucretius would have said that beauty was no essential concern of his; but I am inclined to think that there is a beauty lying at the heart of his philosophy, and resting on the deep and all-pervading basis of what I can only call objectiveness.

In saying that Lucretius is objective, I mean to imply more than might appear. Ancient and modern philosophy are often contrasted on this very point, so that one might think that the human subject never intruded on the scene until the time of Berkeley. But although the

¹ musaeo contingens cuncta lepore.

Lucreti *De Rerum Natura* (Oxonii, 1899). I, 934.

² quae bene et eximie quamvis disposta ferantur,
longe sunt tamen a vera ratione repulsa.

II, 644-645.

³ veraque constituunt quae belle tangere possunt
auris et lepido quae sunt fucata sonore.

I, 643-644.

ancients never got entangled in the subtle meshes of his dilemma, their difference from us is not abysmal; they simply made their philosophies without that hook to hang on, instead of with it. Most philosophies have the same strengthening faith at bottom: that the deepest reality in the universe is something akin to the human spirit. They all start, whether ostensibly or not, from the inside, and present us a vivid picture of what ought to be, together with proofs that what ought to be must be. In a man like Plato this moral sketch becomes a masterpiece, but it is still a moral masterpiece. The peculiar categories of mind and spirit can be so stripped of irrelevance and so lengthened as to cast very long shadows on eternity, but the definition of them, so far as there is definition, remains human. Obviously their ordinary function is to keep the spirit warm and comfortable in a rather cold world. But kinship does not necessarily imply warmth; as a matter of fact, malignant gods have always been very popular among the pious. And it is this side of the gods that Lucretius thinks of. What he sees most clearly is the terror and despair of it; but his peculiar virtue is that he does not solve the knot by tying it in the opposite direction, but by cutting it completely. He leaves the spirit to warm itself; it is at the periphery of his world, not the centre. Let us follow this notion through his system.

The *De Rerum Natura* is a vision of the whole unbelievably complex universe under a single form: an infinity of atoms moving in infinite space. This is the most general of all formulas; what it includes is completely universal, what it ignores is not fundamental to any possible world. And Lucretius is at some pains to make it clear that "beyond the void, and physical bodies, there can be no third nature [or substance] in the sum of things."¹ The definition of the atoms will therefore be the summary of ultimate reality. Their only characteristics are definite shapes, indestructibility, and perpetual motion: purely physical qualities. They are immortal only in the sense that their parts, or *minima*, "since they cannot stand by themselves, must cling to that from which they can in no way be torn";² and the motion of the atoms

¹ praeter inane et corpora tertia per se
nulla potest rerum in numero natura relinqui.

I, 445-446.

² quoniam per se nequeunt constare, necessest
haerere unde queant nulla ratione revelli. I, 607-608.

is simply an unwearied, aimless march through infinity. One is tempted to call this world of atoms a pure mechanism. But the notion of pure mechanism is self-contradictory, as Professor Whitehead points out: there is an element of particularity about any given machine, the distinction of being, out of many possible machines, the one that has actually arisen, which makes necessary a small portion of freedom. The Epicureans took care of this by the famous doctrine of the 'swerve,' so much ridiculed by their opponents. It happened, says Lucretius, that "when the atoms are being carried by their own weight straight through the void, at some uncertain time and some uncertain place they swerve a little."¹ But Lucretius, like the scientists who have advanced somewhat similar theses in the last year or two, insists that the change is so very small as not really to break the rule of law. It is an uncomfortable notion for him, and he only attaches it positively to the beginning of the world and to our will. One should therefore not over-emphasize this limiting conception, introduced for specific purposes; in the main his system is one of necessity, though one cannot quite call it absolute necessity.

At least one can be certain that there is absolutely no human tinge in Lucretius's atoms. He will not grant them a mental pole, as for example Spinoza and Whitehead do, but insists that "they must not be endowed with any sense [or feeling]."² There is no purpose in their composition, "since the atoms exist by nature, and are not made by hand to one certain model"³ — nor in their movements, "for certainly the atoms never placed themselves in line by any counsel or sagacious mind of their own, nor decided what movements they were to make."⁴ Else-

¹ corpora cum deorsum rectum per inane feruntur,
ponderibus propriis incerto tempore ferme
incertisque locis spatio depellere paulum.

II, 217-219.

² haud igitur debent esse ullo praedita sensu.

II, 972.

³ natura quoniam constant neque facta manu sunt
unius ad certam formam.

II, 378-379.

⁴ nam certe neque consilio primordia rerum
ordine se suo quaeque sagaci mente locarunt
nec quos quaeque darent motus pepigere profecto.

I, 1021-1023.

where ¹ he warns us against surprise that the world has arrived at its present state: it is by no means the best or only possible world, but merely one knot tied in the infinite chain of matter. Others have been thrown up by the atoms indifferently in their eternal wanderings,² and presumably there will be others. Nor are there any gods at hand to guide the erring footsteps of the atoms: "to say that (the gods) created the glorious nature of the world for the sake of men . . . is nonsense," he says flatly.³ There are two grounds for his vigorous denial: one, curious for him, that it amounts to "thinking things unworthy of the gods and hostile to their peace,"⁴ and the other, that the world is really very poorly adapted to our comfort and our soul-strivings. "So much imperfection is it possessed of," he says,⁵ and goes on to list its shortcomings: barrenness, drought, floods, predatory beasts, and the like. But his two grounds are really one: namely, that perfection and absolutes are for the gods (whom I suspect of living a purely Platonic existence in Lucretius), but have nothing to do with earth, which is simply what it is. Lucretius sees in nature, not hostility, but what Santayana calls "her reptilian indifference to her creatures."

It is the same exactly with the tremendous phenomena of generation and dissolution, growth and decay, life and death. By generation I mean the whole arising, becoming, expanding aspect of the world that is symbolized by Venus. The conception applies to inanimate as well as animate nature. Lucretius analyzes it in the second book from the point of view of any actual thing. All sensible things — and there is nothing else but the void — are compounds of more than one kind of atom; ⁶ they are defined partly by the nature, but mainly by the varying relations of the latter: "what with and in what position they are

¹ V, 192.

² II, 1067-1076.

³ dicere porro hominum causa voluisse parare
praeclaram mundi naturam. . . .
desiperest.

V, 156-157, 165.

⁴ dis indigna putare alienaque pacis eorum.

VI, 69.

⁵ tanta stat praedita culpa.

V, 199.

⁶ II, 583-585.

held, and what motions they give and take";¹ hence different things can be constituted by similar atoms in various combinations;² what the thing has already become in this way has the force of a law over what it can still become;³ and such a constitution, in living creatures, can be handed on.⁴ It is, in short, a description of organism, and will fit nature taken as a whole, though a single living creature is the best example of the process. But all this does not blind Lucretius to the reverse of the medal, which is precisely as real and necessary, though it happens to be the terrible side for us. This is one of the strongest points of his system, that death becomes, not an anomaly, but the complement of life. Although death is real and complete, its important aspect is not its completeness, but its trenchant example of the unceasing change; and conversely, "whatever changes and leaves its limits [its definition], that is immediately the death of what was before."⁵

It is in the same spirit that Lucretius describes the development of living creatures on the earth. He is not an evolutionist in the popular, modern sense of the word, with all its implications of teleology and optimism: he is inclined to pessimism, and he believes firmly in both the constancy of species⁶ and the purely natural character of natural selection. For he has a place for natural selection. The earth "created the human race, and brought forth in her own time every animal that frolics in the great mountains";⁷ and she devised many a strange creature — though never such impossible ones as centaurs or chimaeras, he insists.⁸ Like the Mesozoic reptiles, which were almost as grotesque as anything Lucretius could imagine, these monsters were weeded out, and it was

¹ cum quibus et quali positura contineantur,
et quos inter se dent motus accipiantque.

II, 761-762.

² II, 695-699.

³ II, 700-729.

⁴ II, 665-666.

⁵ quodcumque suis mutatum finibus exit,
continuo hoc mors est illius quod fuit ante.

II, 753-754.

⁶ V, 924.

⁷

genus ipsa creavit
humanum atque animal prope certo tempore fudit
omne quod in magnis bacchatur montibu' passim.

V, 822-824.

⁸ V, 878-924.

"craft or courage or speed" ¹ that survived. Just so, the fact that the human animal has undergone the same automatic selection to fit the environment is not inconsistent with the blunt assertion that "nothing is born in the body that we may use it, but what is born creates its use." ²

The case of the soul and human death, although for a specific reason Lucretius spends a whole book on it, is not essentially different from the general question of life and death; all that he says about it is a very simple and direct corollary of his system. The twenty-one arguments against immortality which Lucretius marshals impressively in the third book remind one of an army on the stage that suggests numbers by marching round and round the back-drop: they are really all the same argument. The soul is corporeal, a part of nature, and therefore it dies; that is all. "In the first place I say that the soul, which we often call the mind . . . is no less a part of man than his hand or foot." ³ It is an arrangement of atoms in various degrees of subtlety and dispersion, and Lucretius has no trouble at all in proving it mortal. But his specific psychology on this point is hardly valuable; in fact, his definition would undoubtedly be thrown out by the friends of soul because it contains, as usual in such debates, the whole issue. His soul is not a soul at all, but what Santayana calls a psyche, or body-spirit. Apparently, then, it leaves the deeper problem untouched; but I suspect that this psyche contains what really matters in the immortality of the soul. At least Lucretius's insistence that "they {body and soul} cling together with common roots, and it seems that they cannot be torn apart without disaster" ⁴ does justice to a whole realm of facts which dualists are forced to treat rather cavalierly. I mean the facts of organism. Lucretius con-

¹ . . . aut dolus aut virtus aut denique mobilitas.

V, 858.

² . . . nil ideo quoniam natumst in corpore ut uti
possemus, sed quod natumst id procreat usum.

IV, 834-835.

³ primum animum dico, mentem quam saepe vocamus . . .
esse hominis partem nilo minus ac manus et pes.

III, 94, 96.

⁴ . . . communibus inter se radicibus haerent
nec sine pernicie divelli posse videntur.

III, 325-326.

siders a living creature, human or otherwise, to be a unity of diverse parts which grow and decay together in conformity with the law of the whole. He has stated a crucial problem in terms of this concept and of his objective system, and thus entered the very citadel of the defenders of spirit.

Lucretius has nothing to say about the spiritual life of man as such, but the way in which he deals with a passion such as love shows how keenly objective is his attitude everywhere. Love is to him almost purely physical desire. It has no spiritual overtones, is not, as Socrates says in the *Symposium*, "the love of generation and of birth in beauty," but simply the desire to procreate one's kind. It is to be noticed, too, that Lucretius means love between the sexes, and not the sterile love which has a place above it in the Platonic scale; there is an essential difference that I have no time to follow out. But for Lucretius the light-o'-love is cool and severe: he sees the generic purpose, not the individual. He rejects the latter, not on any moral ground, but because it is a deceiving thirst that nature will not satisfy: "this is one thing of which the more we have, the more our breast glows with ominous desire."¹ That is a little trick of Nature, seeking more life — accomplishing her own purposes, as Schopenhauer says, in the guise of man's desire. She is the centre, not he.

Thus, from the last reaches of cosmology down to the passions of man, Lucretius's world is unhuman. It is not enough to say that he is objective; it is not even enough (God save the mark!) to call him rigidly scientific; one has to feel in him the intense and penetrating frame of mind which those words stand for. It is not enough to say that he believed, and expounded his belief; one must understand that he believed passionately in this cold system which has

neither joy, nor love, nor light,
Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain;

that he thought it the only possible light in the darkness of life, the only hope. It is impossible to prove the earnestness of Lucretius by quoting from him; and it is impossible, when one reads him, not to feel it. High

¹ unaque res haec est, cuius quam plurima habemus,
tam magis ardescit dira cuppedine pectus.

IV, 1089-1090.

seriousness, in fact, is not a quality that can be announced, or put on or off; it is something pervading all a man says when he talks about what is nearest his heart. It does not lend itself to grace and ease. Lucretius would suffer in that respect from a comparison with Horace and Virgil; but he is so much of a piece that one ought not to dream of the comparison. When he does descend to humor¹ or a neat antithesis,² he seems much like Milton's elephant in Paradise, who,

To make them mirth, used all his might, and coiled
His lithe proboscis.

Lucretius, although he may not be an original philosopher, has the integrity of one; and I feel that he never maintains anything that is not part of the texture of his real beliefs.

I am entering on the subjective side of his philosophy. Let it not be thought inconsistent, or a waste of time, that after showing in detail how his system is as objective as a system well could be, I speak of its subjective side. There was never such a false and useless notion as to try to understand a philosophy without its philosopher. This misguided attempt at the scientific manner is responsible for much of the air of dry unimportance that clings to philosophy in the general mind. I have an idea, too, that a great many of the contradictions and incompatibilities that people so easily find between philosophers would disappear if they knew the men instead of their words. At any rate, if a system is more than an arrangement of technical terms or an attitude assumed for the sake of argument, if it is an inwoven part of the fabric of the complete man, then to ignore one is to misunderstand the other. In every case there is a disposition of thought, a half-acknowledged mental atmosphere, which explains how this particular philosophy could ever have begun, how it could have made the nature of things luminous to its creator, how it could have been his faith and consolation — in short, how it could have been, in spite of its gaps and shortcomings manifest to us, an adequate philosophy to live by.

There are not many general varieties of this secret spring. In fact, if I mention the intellectual, the mystical or religious, the ethical, and the aesthetic, I shall have included most philosophers. An ultimate reality which could not be clothed in any of these kinds of congeniality to the

¹ III, 776-783.

² V, 1009-1010.

spirit would be ultimate in vain: it could never be profoundly believed in by a human being. The supreme example of them all is, of course, Plato, and the great passage at the end of the sixth book of the *Republic*,¹ in which he speaks of the good as a god and the sun of the intelligible world, will serve as symbol of his all-inclusive vision. Aristotle's colder mind was warmed by no fires but the intellectual. Kant has shown us what it is to make one's central assumptions on an ethical ground; and one is tempted to look on Christian cosmology as merely an external image of Christian ethics. Epicurus, too, seems to have adopted the system we are talking about for ethical reasons, and to have cared more for comfortable self-denials in his garden than for "the flaming walls of the world"² which Lucretius says he left behind.

Undoubtedly Epicurus would have been embarrassed by this blazing disciple, and thought it unseemly to be exalted as a god and giant in philosophy: "a god he was, a god, O noble Memmius."³ That is the tone which Lucretius takes toward his whole philosophy: "golden words,"⁴ he says lovingly. But in spite of this surprising worship, and in spite of neat phrases about Lucretius's denying divinely the divine, there is no mysticism in him. He treats the gods with polite but very distant respect, and religion does nothing but nauseate him. The only divine figure for whom he shows any enthusiasm is Venus, whom I will mention later; she does not affect this case. But if his spirit is not mystical or religious, neither is it intellectual, except in the too general sense of being a product of mind. The whole Epicurean philosophy, unlike the Platonic, which is haunted everywhere by a faith that mind and its intuitions are of supreme importance, was notoriously weak on the logical and metaphysical side. In fact, Lucretius has no metaphysics at all; a question not connected with physics is no question for him. What this means is certainly not a lack of thought, but a total lack of that inward bent which put the categories of the mind at the centre of philosophy. In that sense of the word there is no intellectual comfort in atoms, and there is not meant to be any.

It is perhaps more sensible to see Lucretius in an ethical light, as an Epicurus in black and white instead of grey. He certainly preaches

¹ 508 E, ff.

² I, 73.

³

deus ille fuit, deus, inclute Memmi. V, 8.

⁴ III, 12.

Epicurus's peculiar doctrine of the retrenchment of desire in a number of eloquent passages. I call this doctrine peculiar because, although it is congenial to many philosophers, few of them have thought of it as the essence of pleasure. As a matter of fact Lucretius's pleasures are not limited to the over-modest scope of his master's garden. His bows to *dia voluptas* are few and perfunctory; most of his ethical force is concentrated in his intense descriptions of the narrow insatiability of desire, whether in love, politics, or money-making. Similarly he ridicules the love of life and the fear of death, and being convinced that fear is the root of all man's crimes and wrong desires, puts at its door all his misery. He does not humor our clinging to life by promising an ambiguous kind of eternity, half warm and half cold; he treats it with the cold bath of his objectiveness. At least to a first view, it would seem the height of folly to try to ease the fear of death by proving that we really die. Thus, the only moral strain in Lucretius leads us back directly to the question, instead of solving it: how can this impersonal, cold philosophy have seemed to him a comfort and a refuge?

It is because Lucretius is an aesthetic philosopher, and his unhuman system an aesthetic vision. To modern ears the word 'aesthetic' is likely to have precious and dilettante connotations; but what I have said about his high seriousness and his contempt for poetry that ignores truth should be enough to exempt him from that belittlement. He did not choose his philosophy because it was pretty, nor even, strangely enough, because it was comfortable. Epicurus was the slippered philosopher: for him the theory of nature was the first stopping-place on the road to the garden. But nature sets the whole tone of Lucretius; he is austere and secluded, but he has that powerful and surprising kind of cloistered soul whose enthusiasm is for the infinite world, and not for anything between walls. The two lines at the head of this essay tell his secret: the majesty of things is what stirs him with delight. I suppose that this delight is what some of his admirers mean when they commend the religious spirit in which Lucretius denies religion, and then scold him for not coming back to their small gods after all. But their compliments are on their own scale, not his. Lucretius's intuition of the world is not religious; it is far too great and cool for the image of human warmth and perfections that we have put between ourselves and the sun. Lucretius is not one of us, he is one of the giants who can

see with clear and exact eyes the whole vast, rising, hoping, dying, many-colored world, and realize to the fullest its terrifying beauty, yet not retreat to figments of his own mind for warmth.

Nature is his one love, and the simplest element in his consoling attitude is his varied awareness of her as a spectacle. The range of his observation is the widest in classical poetry: only two poets can be compared to him for clearness and honesty of vision, and they have not his scope. Homer is fond of mountains and the sea, and Virgil of Italian farm-land; but Lucretius describes with a universal intensity all the phenomena of sky: "Moon, day and night, and the austere constellations, the night-wandering torches of the sky and flying flames, clouds, sun, rains, snow, winds, thunderbolts, hail, and the swift tremblings";¹ the sea, in calm: "when the treacherous, alluring, placid sea is smiling";² or storm: "running about (Sicily) with great breakers";³ mountains, woods, rivers, and every sort of living creature from the lion to the bee. He knows the brilliance of clouds at sunset, the salt taste of sea air, the steamy, rising mist of early morning; he has watched calves, with small, shaky legs, playing in a pasture, and dogs dreaming in their sleep; he has heard the birds singing at dawn, the sea roaring in a storm, and human shouts echoing in the lonely hills. He has gone hunting often, and walking, both alone and with companions, in mountains and on the sea-shore. On the whole he likes best the simpler and grander aspects of nature: sun, the night sky, the change of seasons, and wide panoramas in which color and movement are a little softened by distance, like the battle he describes which is all noise and motion, "and yet there is a place in the high mountains whence they seem to stand, a motionless blur of light upon the plain."⁴

There is another way in which Lucretius keeps to the beauty and truth of nature as simply perceived. His world is profoundly alive: it

¹ luna dies et nox et noctis signa severa
noctivagaeque faces caeli flammaeque volantes,
nubila sol imbres nix venti fulmina grando
et rapidi fremitus. V, 1190-1194.

² subdola cum ridet placidi pellacia ponti. II, 559.

³ fluitans circum magnis anfractibus aequor. I, 718.

⁴ et tamen est quidam locus altis montibus unde
stare videntur et in campis consistere fulgor. II, 331-332.

moves, changes, works incessantly, in all its members down to the least. Stars moving across the night sky, clouds changing their shapes before the wind, the sea rippling with white-caps or boiling in a storm, animals chasing or being chased, or playing, or working: this is nature to him. His penetrating imagination sees by preference the active aspect of things, even if it is only an occasional one in years of sameness, like a forest fire, and he summons into present vividness changes that go too slowly to be seen: "Do you not see," he demands, "that stones are overcome by age, high towers fall, and rocks rot away . . .?"¹ This is very characteristic of Lucretius, and suggests the next stage of his vision: in such passages, scattered through the poem, his keen perception of sensuous nature is always passing insensibly into the deep sense of eternal change, so that one cannot tell whether he is writing poetry, philosophy, or plain fact. It is all three; and what we have is not inconsistency, but a genius which can represent things under an eternal form without misrepresenting their real appearance.

As I indicated before, Lucretius's first aim is to paint nature as it is: law, embodied in objects that are truly natural even in the colloquial sense; but his secondary, half-acknowledged purpose in gathering the "new flowers"² of this poetry is to persuade us that naked reality is a nobler subject than the dreams and ecstasies of poets. The question in his mind, if there was one, must have been, not of this contrast, but whether his kind of truth should be brought into the realm of poetry at all. In the limbo of ancient poets, who were proud of their craft and of their individual glories, Lucretius is a doubtful shade, tempted sometimes to scorn them as he scorned the priests. Hence that equilibrium, too intense to be called vacillation, between two kinds of genius, between trenchant reason and strong imagination. In no great writer except Whitman is there such a precarious balance between poetry and prose; and no one but Whitman so fiercely raises the question whether there is such a thing as essential poetry — for in the customary felicities of verse and diction they will both unquestionably have to yield to others. That the struggle between reason and a rebellious imagination in Lucretius was a serious struggle we can infer from his tendency to

¹ denique non lapides quoque vinci cernis ab aevo,
non altas turris ruere et putrescere saxa. V, 306-307.

² I, 928.

grotesque and vivid dreams,¹ the careful length at which he sometimes describes gruesome things,² and the imaginative sympathy he once expresses with those who think that "some hidden [malevolent] power crushes humanity."³ These are signs of a vigorous and wayward fancy, with whose help Lucretius could easily have peopled the world with demons, if he chose. But he curbs it: the only place where it colors his thought is in his attitude toward religion. His picture of that entity "lowering with a horrible look above mortals"⁴ is of his own fabrication, and, as usual in such cases, the thing he damns has not only a much blacker but a much larger place in his own thoughts than in those of the poor wretches he is saving from darkness.

But this fantastic poet in Lucretius, who breaks out only a few times, is of great importance. Being a complement to the rugged and prosaic nature of the subject, this is one of the obstacles which in the surmounting lends intensity to that equilibrium I spoke of. And this intensity, turned into the channels of nature, is what makes the *De Rerum Natura* unforgettable. Running through the poem like the thread through the labyrinth, it gives its own air of melancholy to the whole and all its parts; but its close knitting with Lucretius's scientific, clear mind makes his melancholy reasoned, definite, and austere instead of fantastic. The poem is haunted from beginning to end by the sense of passing away, and the poignancy of this attaches to everything the poet describes. As a writer in *Blackwood's* says of pessimism in general, "Seen so sharply poised against the black curtain of doom, all the little things of this life appear strangely bright and lovely."⁵ Lucretius's pictures of mist and cloud, sea and mountain, do not have their full flavor except in this setting: one must remember that most of them appear as illustrations in those naked passages of exposition and analysis, and that each interprets the other. Thus do we come to realize the beauty of this well-beloved but passing world, as he sees it; there is no lover like the one who knows that love cannot last forever.

¹ E. g., IV, 732 ff.

² E. g., III, 642 ff.

³ res humanas vis abdita quaedam
obterit. V, 1233-1234.

⁴ horribili super aspectu mortalibus instans. I, 65.

⁵ J. B. Priestley in *Blackwood's* (No. 1360, February, 1929), p. 215.

Just so, the contrast of life and death in general is an enhancement of the colors of each. As in one passage,¹ the loud confusion of the Punic Wars, "when everything, shaken by the tumult of war, trembled terribly under the high shores of heaven," is introduced by "as in past time we felt nothing" and ended by the peaceful "thus, when we shall no longer be" — so Lucretius's vivid sense of life, with both its joy and its pain, is bounded by his strong, imaginative perception of enfolding death, whether it be a sudden cataclysm or the slow wearing away of atoms "and no pace perceived." One could trace the contrast through many particulars, and it is given a divine or universal coloring in the figures of Venus and Mars. Venus for him is not the goddess of human love, with a traditional character, myths, and temples, nor even the goddess of all love; she is a symbol of the mighty striving for creation, and in her Lucretius concentrates all the beauty that growing, producing, and being in general have for things that enter the world. She is *Natura naturans*, the undying side of nature which fulfils our longing to survive. But she does not fulfil that longing for anybody but herself, and though her torch does not die, the runners who carry it do. As I said, Lucretius is at some pains to drive home this idea of the generic triumph of life, and to show that when devoted to creation Venus is divine, when devoted to passion or chimerical dreams, contemptible. Hence the man who expects from her a specific consolation for his coming doom is deceived; he can share her triumph only if he transcends his individual desire and shares, as a perceiver, the universal law.

I have thus sketched the elements of the aesthetic attitude, in connection with nature both as sensuous and as somewhat more generally perceived, and now come round to the rôle of man and his mature relation to nature, as Lucretius thinks of them. Here his philosophy has a deep and subtle likeness to the branch of art which is most concerned with this mature relation: namely, tragedy. One can even trace a resemblance between the form of his six books, in which the argument (the drama, in this comparison) is introduced, and usually ended, by

1

omnia cum belli trepido concussa tumultu
horrida contremuere sub altis aetheris oris,
et velut anteacto nil tempore sensimus aegri,
sic, ubi non erimus. III, 834, 832, and 838.

poetical, generalized passages, and the alternately lyric and dramatic form of Greek tragedy. But the poem has a deeper likeness in its very essence. Its surprising conformity to Aristotle's definition must be due to this, although Aristotle does not mention the essence of tragedy. This fundamental notion, as in all Greek poetry, is the notion of man's incorrigible ὑβρις. Prometheus, Agamemnon, Clytemnestra, Oedipus, are beings who, through pride or ambition or lust or impulsive anger, have crossed the delicate but firm line that marked their proper spheres, and are therefore made wretched. Γινώθι σεαυτόν, in its original sense — that is, know thyself to be man, not god — is the cornerstone of Greek tragedy.

There is in this an idea of binding necessity, and also an idea of moral freedom in the spectator to whom the whole thing is addressed: he is free to renounce the tragic fault of the hero. I have heard it maintained that that power extends to the hero himself: that there is a point at which he makes the fatal decision for himself, although once the die is cast — once Prometheus has defied high heaven, once Oedipus has forgotten his oracle and given way to anger — the iron consequences follow. To the hero this encounter with necessity means failure, ruin, and usually death; it is completely real and terrible. But its relation to the spectator is more ambiguous and more interesting. To him it is not real, and it causes, not pain, but tragic pleasure. Fauconnet¹ finds a basis for this in the play itself, in the "triomphe tragique" by which, for example in the *Oedipus at Colonus* in contrast to the *Oedipus Rex*, the hero is purified of his desire and emerges at last into calmness. But the phenomenon does not necessarily depend on hints at an actual redemption; it is grounded deep in the nature of art. Santayana says paradoxically that "the blackest tragedy is festive"; and this is because the function of the spectator of tragedy is essentially godlike. He feels suffering without being actually hurt, disaster without being ruined. His pity and fear are purged of their actual sting, for no one but a very young and naïve spectator (such as Lamb describes himself at the age of six, when he "knew not players") could feel those emotions in their full intensity, especially with the artificiality of the Attic stage. The spectator, then, never quite forgets his rôle; his peculiar character is

¹ A. Fauconnet, *L'Esthétique de Schopenhauer* (Paris, 1913), chap. 13.

that, so far as he feels with the tragic hero, he suffers, and, so far as he stands apart from the hero, he enjoys.

In Lucretius the essential *ὑβρις* is generalized as Schopenhauer generalizes it.¹ But it is not quite so radical as that. The true *ὑβρις* for Lucretius is the excessive love of life and longing for immortality. The key to all this is the passage² in which, after his great indictment of the world's imperfection for man's purposes, culminating in the image of the newborn child shipwrecked on the shores of life, he goes on to say that the animals, whose demands of nature are not exorbitant, are satisfied. The tragedy of man is not in nature, but in his own arrogance, because he will not retrench his desire. Lucretius's passages on the ambitions³ and crimes⁴ that sprout from the fear of death are among his most eloquent; but to feel all their poignancy one must equate that fear with the excessive love of life, and remember not only his keen delight in the beauty of this passing world, but his perception of the joy and strength of life, as symbolized in the great figure of Venus. If we were not convinced that he has this deep feeling, with its many-colored reflections on the world, we could not feel tragedy in its denial, just as the doom of a tragic hero is flat unless we are strongly aware of his desire. Lucretius does not intend to represent this passion, but he does, unconsciously and by implication.

The *De Rerum Natura*, in this aspect, is an appeal to man to drop his *ὑβρις* and become a spectator of the tragedy in which he is an actor. To the latter, death and failure in his own designs are terrible; to the former, who stands aside and sees the law as well as the passion, they are beautiful and justified. Hence, keeping in the back of our minds the splendor of life and its trappings, which we can feel in ourselves, we can see the drama of its rise and fall in the cool light of the universal necessity. We understand the law of relentless and unceasing change by which our *ὑβρις* is limited; and we are to subdue this tragic actor within us to the serene cheerfulness of a spectator of all nature. "To be able to view everything with a mind at peace"⁵ is Lucretius's only ideal.

¹ "Der wahre Sinn des Trauerspiels ist die tiefere Einsicht, dass was der Held abbüsst nicht seine Partikularsünden sind, sondern die Erbsünde, d. h. die Schuld des Daseyns selbst." Schopenhauer, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* (Leipzig, 1859), I, 299-300.

² V, 228 ff.

³ E. g., II, 1-61.

⁴ E. g., III, 31-93.

⁵

pacata posse omnia mente tueri.

V, 1203.

The freedom of the will has the same ambiguity in him as in tragedy: doubtful in the hero whom we see struggling in the net, it is subtly implied in us whom he hopes to convert. One may speculate with amusement whether Lucretius, and the tragic poets in general, would really like a complete conversion: for it would leave no tragedy for us to look at. But at any rate the pleasure one takes in this aspect of his poem is a triumph over human limitation: the godlike, perceptive delight of the tragic spectator.

This seems to leave no room for the emotions that Aristotle has once for all linked with tragedy: pity and fear. Now fear is, I think, the religious element in tragic perception, at least among the Greeks. It has no place in Lucretius at all; in fact it is precisely what he is most vehement against. But I doubt that fear is important to the true sense of tragedy: it becomes less and less insistent as tragedy becomes more exclusively an aesthetic experience. The characteristic feeling of our godlike spectator is pity, and that is the only moral virtue, except courage, that one can find in Lucretius. "O unhappy human race!" he says,¹ and anyone who has read him knows that the exclamation is sincere. The spirit that animates the whole poem, on its human side, is pity for man, the prey of his own terrors and unjustified desires. But the words 'his own' are the key to a very peculiar quality of disdain in Lucretius's sympathy. He is miles from being sentimental about it. Here again is an equilibrium somewhat peculiar to him. The passages I mentioned² as attacks on vaulting ambition show plainly enough, on the one hand, the exhilaration and sweet disdain of his own freedom from passion, and on the other his deep realization of what bondage means. The famous simile of the honey-smeared cup³ is conceived in exactly this spirit: the spirit of a stern but great-hearted physician, poised between pity and scorn for his foolish patients. Just so the tragic spectator. He is not really cynical: the element of scorn in him is merely his awareness of his own elevation, serenity, and scope of vision, in contrast to the passionate limitations of the hero. This serenity, with its occasional faint tinge of scorn, is what sets Lucretius off so distinctly from the mere sympathizers, the humanitarians, and the philosophers of feeling. The important thing is that the very essence of his moral philosophy — if he can be said to have one — includes the feeling of aesthetic distance.

¹ O genus infelix humanum. V, 1194.

² II, 1 ff. and III, 31 ff.

³ I, 936-950.

I have thus showed that Lucretius's secondary attitude toward nature, next to the scientific, is aesthetic, and that his view of man in relation to nature is aesthetic too. But I ought not to give the impression that the sense of tragedy is the most important thing about the poem. The centre of tragedy tends to be man; but in spite of Lucretius's preoccupation with a human problem, the fear of death, the real centre of his interest is universal nature. The only delight he persistently speaks of as his own is the contemplation and exposition of nature, by which he means, in the main, what we do: that is, external nature. His impulses are centrifugal to a degree that would shame a romanticist, that is, if one takes the self as centre; and they are more serious because in turning outward he is not finding himself reflected in every flower and echoed by every passing breeze. Not only does he draw refreshment from "fountains, meadows, hills, and groves," without talking about their loves, and devote an astonishing amount of space to simple descriptions; one feels constantly the coolness and great sweep of nature in contrast to the small, hot, hurrying life of man. And the basis of this feeling is his keen vision of the eternal process. The delight of the mind in system is a delight in universal form; it is an aesthetic fulfilment, in contrast to the satisfactions of will and moral intuition, which are fulfilments of life. Philosophers like Plato, who have found universal forms which are also congenial to our moral and social needs, are building bridges between the two realms. But Lucretius has found them in nature, and dwells happily beyond good and evil, in a vision of the eternal, infinite swarm of atoms — a vision which swallows up his perceptions, also aesthetic, of the sensuous beauty of nature and the tragedy of man.

This is the last outpost of spirit. We cannot ask that it deny itself completely. Full scientific objectiveness in a complete and serious view of the world is a chimaera; it would mean simply that we had refused the problem of our own relation to nature, and failed to make a philosophy. But Lucretius, although he is not concerned with encouraging our vanity or finding a basis for our moral prejudices, represents a triumph of the spirit on another ground. The ideal which he implies is that of a free spirit, facing tranquilly the infinite spectacle of necessity and change, and rising to an equality with it by rapt perception. This perception is not ecstasy but a conscious balance of mind and nature,

keeping both the glow of sympathy and the sense of distance which are characteristic of the man who contemplates aesthetically.

III

Lucretius has no followers. There have been Epicureans in all the possible senses of the word: but the delicate equilibriums which make up the aesthetic attitude of Lucretius have not been recaptured. It is a question whether he is more alone as a materialist among poets or as a poet among materialists. Hence any account of modern parallels will be as much a study in contrasts as in likenesses. One finds fragments of him in a number of modern philosophies, and very illuminating they are, but his mold is broken. Furthermore, the likenesses that do come out are only likenesses, and not derivations: one could hardly name a philosopher who has had so little influence on his successors. But this does not dim the interest of his peculiar tendency of thought, and if it does reappear in other men, independently, that will be a fact of additional interest. Finally — and this partly explains the last point — one must remember that materialism, pessimism, and the like, with which he has the greatest affinity, occupy the wings of the modern philosophical stage. They are forced to play the rôle of *The Opposition*, while the central forts are held by various kinds of idealism and optimism, which form and continue the official tradition. Thus *The Opposition*, like a besieging army, tends to be scattered; and although this has the advantage of limiting their company to strong and original thinkers, it has the disadvantage of dispersing their shots and obscuring their relations to each other. Let no one be surprised, then, at my seeing a wraith of Lucretius in the eighteenth-century French materialists because of their ethical bent, in Spinoza for his objectiveness and his contemplative leanings, in Schopenhauer for his pessimism, his theory of tragedy, and his ethics based on sympathy, in Bertrand Russell's "*Free Man's Worship*" for its aesthetic pessimism, and finally in Santayana, who is, like Lucretius, both a materialist and a poet.

Of this decidedly motley crew, the French materialists have the best legal claim to be regarded as Lucretius's heirs, for their school began, in the seventeenth century, as a return to Epicurus. Gassendi, the founder, seems to have been a prudent man with somewhat the temper of Epicurus himself, combining the atomic theory with the advantages

of true religion; but the men who startled the next century, particularly Holbach and La Mettrie, are much nearer Lucretius in their point of approach, their uncompromising logic, and their ethical spirit. If one recalls the tone of the whole age of Voltaire, when they were writing,¹ he will not be surprised to find in them, as in Lucretius, a strong sympathy for man, a faith in his reasonableness and teachability, and a hatred of the foolish chains he has forged for himself — especially religion. “C’est à l’erreur que sont dues ces haines invétérées, ces persécutions barbares, ces massacres continuels, ces tragédies révoltantes dont, sous prétexte du ciel, la terre est tant de fois devenue le théâtre.”²

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.³

This fierce indictment of religion as the arch-enemy is based, like Lucretius’s, on an ethical ground: that of sympathy. But it is of an essentially different temper from his. It does not count for nothing that this book belongs to the time of Rousseau, when the hatred of tyranny was in the air. God, to Holbach, is the “tyran implacable <qui> se vengera de leurs infirmités, de leurs délits momentanés, des penchans qu’il a donnés à leur cœur.”⁴ So the denial of him can be regarded as an integral part of the struggle for freedom, intellectual, religious, and political, which the eighteenth century contributed to history; it has the same ideal of a system of social duty and virtue based on nature. Holbach puts tremendous emphasis on education because he believes in the perfectibility of man: “Les hommes ne sont par-tout si méchants, si corrompus, si rebelles à la raison que parce que nulle part ils ne sont gouvernés conformément à leur nature ni instruits de ses lois nécessaires”;⁵ but this faith is neither romantic nor Lucretian, for it is applied directly to society, and Holbach is constantly assuring his supposedly frightened readers that he has justice, benevolence, and the social virtues very much at heart.

Lucretius was interested primarily in his system of necessity, but kept the loophole of enough free-will to enable man to renounce his desires and take up contemplation; in Holbach we have an absolute de-

¹ La Mettrie’s *L’Homme Machine* was published in 1745; Holbach’s *Système de la Nature*, in 1770.

² Holbach, *Système de la Nature* (Amsterdam, 1774), Préface.

³ Lucretius I, 101.

⁴ Holbach, I, 289.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 316.

terminism serving as basis for a moral structure of reason, education, and active choice. There is no logical contradiction in this, for our knowledge of cause in the moral realm is *a posteriori* and at best imperfect, and gives no grounds for that limp fatalism which presupposes that we know the fate we must submit to. But there is a contradiction of feeling or intent. The function a general theory of necessity can perform for the mind is, paradoxically enough, a liberation, but only of the negative, aesthetic sort we found in Lucretius. The spectacle of universal necessity is not capable in itself of inspiring a moral system. The moral intuitions of these Frenchmen came out of their time: out of ideas of human rights, of the essential nature of man, of the social contract, and of the community of all reasonable beings. Lucretius is foreign to all this; he is not immoral—no really great and serious philosopher can be—but he is not interested in systems of action. He is full of “les déclamations d’une sombre philosophie contre le désir du pouvoir, de la grandeur, des richesses, des plaisirs,”¹ all of which are quite acceptable to Holbach’s utilitarian theory of virtue, but radically at variance with pure contemplation. The fact is that the eighteenth century was an age of social exhilaration, when even pure and lofty spirits could pursue the blessings of the human world, whereas Lucretius represents the beginning of that long period when they could only turn inward, or else completely outward, to nature. The aesthetic attitude is essentially an individual affair.

Hence, although Holbach sometimes approaches the detachment and tense serenity of Lucretius, as in the passage² in which he dwells on the peace and beauty of death, yet the semi-romantic quality of his sympathy and his insistent return to practical aspects form a difference. This difference is only accentuated by the curious *Abrégé du Code de la Nature*, written by Diderot, which serves as peroration to the book and is obviously intended to provide an aesthetic and emotional content for Holbach’s system. Here, evidently on the inspiration of Lucretius,³ we have Nature reading a lecture to Man in which exhortations “que les larmes de la vertu dans la détresse soient recueillies dans ton sein”⁴ are

¹ *Ibid.*, I, 365.

² *Ibid.*, I, 285–288; cf. Lucretius III, 829–977, which Holbach must have had in mind

³ III, 931–1052.

⁴ Holbach, II, 444.

mingled with the most affecting praises of justice, virtue, kindness, modesty, and public spirit, and with threats of "les vengeances que j'exerce sur tous ceux qui résistent à mes décrets."¹ Compare this with "Now put away everything that is foreign to your time of life, and with an equal mind yield . . . for it is necessary."²

Holbach shows clearly, then, Lucretius's unique place among materialists, the difference in tone and intention between him and ordinary holders of his creed. A sketch of German scientific materialism in the nineteenth century would bring to light even wider gulfs. There is, in fact, only one professed materialist in modern times who is at all like Lucretius, and he is in neither the social nor the scientific tradition. But the seventeenth century, which, as Professor Whitehead has taught us,³ drove the idea of a necessary and impersonal world deep into men's minds, and which supplied the groundwork for the *Système de la Nature*, was also the century of Spinoza. Nowadays, when Spinoza's star has risen again, there is a tendency to think of him in Novalis's phrase, as "ein Gottbetrunkener Mensch," and to overlook his affinities with the atheists and materialists of his time. In his refusal to give human categories a place in heaven, in his strong contempt for the conventional God, in his close alliance of physics and metaphysics, he is akin to them. But he is kept from materialism by his careful balance of mind and body, Thought and Extension; and, in fact, his leanings are too intellectualistic for it. The *Ethics* is an attempt to put scholastic terms and logic into a mathematical form: it thus holds to the most rigorous and indispensable part of the European intellectual tradition. For the secret aim of all man's purely intellectual productions is pure mathematics, as the avowed aim of science is measurement, its applied form. The Greeks had at least the glory of discovering and honoring one of the two; but Lucretius — it is one of his most striking characteristics — is completely indifferent to mathematics. Hence we must expect to find between him and Spinoza the angle of difference in approach between the mathematician and the poet.

¹ Holbach, II, 448.

² "nunc aliena tua tamen aetate omnia mitte
aequo animoque aedum [magnis] concede: necessest."
Lucretius, III, 961-962.

³ In *Science and the Modern World*, chap. III.

In spite of these differences, they have a deep and astonishing likeness of attitude toward the fundamental fact of necessity, and of ideas how we should face it. That it is fundamental, there is no doubt: "In the nature of things nothing contingent is granted, but all things are determined by the necessity of the divine nature for existing and working in a certain way."¹ Furthermore, the divine nature itself is free only in the sense that "God acts merely according to his own laws, and is compelled by no one";² those laws are absolute for Him as for us. In several of his eloquent notes Spinoza shows that, whereas in man free-will is but a chimaera suggested by ignorance of causes, in God it would be an imperfection.³ In fact, he insists that, although the Attribute of Thought is universal and coördinate with Extension, there is no such thing as a mind or will of God; that would be a limitation and hence a blemish.⁴ The Appendix to Book I is an attempt, whole-hearted for once, to sweep off the board every one of the categories we impose on nature: 'good, evil, order, confusion, hot, cold, beauty and ugliness,' and the like.⁵ Nor is he kind to the fear of death. He does not admit memory or imagination after death;⁶ "in God there is necessarily granted the idea which expresses the essence of this or that human body under the species of eternity,"⁷ but this is merely an aspect, as Professor Whitehead would say, of that essential relatedness of all things which guarantees that none of them are ever lost to the whole. It concerns God primarily, not our moral and personal selves, and is of interest to us only at a remove. We are glad for the sake of God, so to speak, that this particular drop of being which we happen to be is not going to be lost without a trace; but this is a purely disinterested joy, and not at all the kind to satisfy the love of life or the need of a moral imperative.

We see, then, that Spinoza offers no specious shelter against the cold winds of necessity; but this last point suggests how he comes to terms with it. The first step is to understand God. "For in so far as we understand, we can desire nothing save that which is necessary, nor can we absolutely acquiesce in anything save what is true: therefore in

¹ *Ethics*, Book I, Prop. XXIX.

² *Ibid.*, Prop. XVII.

³ E. g., Note to Prop. XVII.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XXXIII, note II; and Appendix.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Appendix.

⁶ *Ibid.*, V, Prop. XXI.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Prop. XXII.

so far as we understand this rightly, the endeavor of the best part of us agrees with the order of the whole of nature.”¹ This would do excellently to describe Lucretius’s reconciliation with fate, if his world were not purely physical. The agreement that Spinoza mentions is one between a mode and its attribute, on the mental side of the universe. The necessity we are agreeing with is also an expression of God through its attribute, on either side of the universe. Logical and physical necessity are perfectly indistinguishable in Spinoza: they go back to the same ground, the nature of God.² But our knowledge of them is based, not only in our intention but in objective fact, on that same nature. We therefore agree with nature in a very deep sense, and one which Lucretius, with his lack of a properly full and coordinated epistemology, could not even glimpse. But his inadequacy in this respect sheds light on his aesthetic attitude; the soul, or psyche, which he describes in material terms, is inevitably felt not to be the one which is viewing the universe, and so the latter is left to wander along the edges, essentially homeless and keeping a nomadic wonder at the spectacles it sees. Spinoza has made this naïve, potentially aesthetic relation into an explicitly intellectual one.

But he is not content to leave the relation intellectual; he expands it into the intellectual love of God, a difficult concept in which philosophy, science, and religion seem to meet. It is the same thing as the love of God for men,³ and since that is not an emotion,⁴ it would seem that there is no emotional element in this love by which we attain to freedom. “It can rightly be called mental satisfaction,”⁵ he says: peculiarly mental because it lies in the perception of a logical necessity. In calling this satisfaction love Spinoza is guilty of a noble contradiction: he is trying to lift to the level of the absolute commingling which is the true love of God a communion that cannot be so complete. For there is a distinction between the necessary universe which is surveyed and the self which is somehow free to survey it, and so long as there is a real conviction of necessity there is a sense, perhaps obscure, but in-

¹ *Ibid.*, IV, Appendix, XXXII.

² *Ibid.*, I, Prop. XXV: “God is not only the effecting cause of the existence of things, but also of their essence.”

³ *Ibid.*, V, XXXVI, Corollary.

⁴ *Ibid.*, V, XVII, Corollary.

⁵ *Ibid.*, V, XXXVI, Note.

alienable, of distance between viewer and viewed. Yet Spinoza's peculiar merit is exactly in his attempt to transcend this distinction — to rise to a religious attitude. Thus, the direct intellectual sustenance he finds in God tends to pass over into a sense of communion; and this is enough to mark his point of view as essentially unaesthetic, though still contemplative.

It appears, then, that although French materialism and Spinoza's pantheism faced Lucretius's problem of the reconciliation with a non-human world, each of them faced it in a spirit different from the other's — the one falling below him, the other going perhaps beyond. The next Lucretian (to use an ambiguous term) is at first sight quite different. When one remembers the man Schopenhauer derived from and the men he was constantly at war with,¹ and considers that it is these influences which usually determine the hang of a philosophy, if not its inmost vision, one will not be surprised at great differences of approach. His own temper shines rather awkwardly through the thick veils of his philosophy. Thus his pessimism, which is perhaps the best-known thing about him, appears in the midst of an ascending system of objectified will which might serve the crassest optimism; and yet it is very much like Lucretius's pessimism. Not only is the external world "unterworfen dem Satze vom Grunde," not only are the partial objectifications of Will doomed to partial satisfactions; the very essence of Will is to have no end, to be insatiable. "Er ein hungriger Wille ist. Daher die Jagd, die Angst und das *Leiden*."² Will is a principle of lack, of incompleteness, and pain is its second name. Schopenhauer is here expanding an Epicurean doctrine of which Lucretius gave brilliant examples³ but did not make explicit: namely, that pain is the positive fact, pleasure the negative. Positive pleasure is a contradiction in terms, a chimaera; the only question for us is whether we prefer a temporary or a permanent respite from pain. But before I explain this permanent respite, here is an interesting point: Schopenhauer rejects materialism vigorously because it sees only the aspect of pain and necessity and

¹ Kant and the Hegelians respectively: "weil ich . . . zuletzt das *Absurde* und *Unsinnige* in allgemeiner Bewunderung und Verehrung stehen sah," *Die Welt als Wille . . . Vorrede zur zweiten Auflage*, p. xvi.

² *Ibid.*, II, 28, p. 183.

³ E. g., in speaking of love (IV, 1037–end) and the love of life (III, 1076–end).

ignores the aspect of freedom. Now we saw in connection with Spinoza that as a matter of fact freedom, at least for the contemplator, does creep in surreptitiously; but Schopenhauer is right in demanding that it come into the open and be explained.

In his view, man as "rein erkennendes Subjekt" is capable of viewing the Idea as not subordinated to the principle of sufficient reason: that is, as a Platonic Idea. And the thing that proves we are on the track of an aesthetic attitude is that this kind of contemplation appears to great advantage in the perception of the sublime, and in tragedy. Aesthetic pleasure is "Freude über das blosse, anschauliche Erkennen als solches, im Gegensatz des Willens";¹ and its highest grade is perception of the sublime. He means by the latter the enjoyment of what is either hostile (dynamic sublime) or indifferent (mathematical) to our will, as for example the contemplation of violent storms, or vast tracts of land and sky. The redemption from terror and insignificance comes from the complementary fact that "hae omnes creaturae in totum ego sum," as he quotes the *Upanishads*:² the whole spectacle is only my idea. The sense of the sublime arises "durch den Kontrast der Unbedeutsamkeit und Abhängigkeit unseres Selbst als Individuums, als Willenserscheinung, gegen das Bewusstseyn unserer als reinen Subjekts des Erkennens."³ The highest expression of this contrast in poetry is, of course, tragedy, the noblest of all the arts except music, which is a direct voice of the will. For Schopenhauer tragedy represents, as I said elsewhere, the renunciation of the original sin of being. Being is the objectification of will, and will is pain itself. Hence the notion of tragedy can be tremendously broadened, and applied to the whole human scene so far as it is under the domination of will. This aesthetic perception is the self-consciousness of will attaining "zum deutlichen und erschöpfenden Erkennen seines eigenen Wesens, wie es sich in der ganzen Welt abspiegelt."³ But it is a knowledge of the world as it is in idea, abstracted from the sting and insistence of its actual status, where it is full of will. Furthermore, although the will is thus learning about its own objectifications, it is not conscious that they are its own: it has not reached that terrible, final realization that it is its own enemy, which comes in Schopenhauer's last book. Hence it is still willing to look at

¹ *Die Welt als Wille*, III, 39, p. 236.

² *Ibid.*, III, 39, p. 243.

³ *Ibid.*, IV, 55, p. 339.

the actual world, and still capable of enjoying the spectacle, pain and all, because this does not come home to it with intensity.

We see, then, that although the aesthetic consciousness has a very respectable place in Schopenhauer's system (and he himself, one cannot help feeling, has a great sympathy and affection for it), it cannot be taken as the highest stage. It is in somewhat the state of Eden before the Fall, and its knowledge, though clear and excellent in its way, is the slightest bit naïve, merely because the transcendent secret, that suffering is inherent in itself, is not yet broken. The easy, godlike position of our aesthetic Lucretian spectator becomes a little ridiculous, like the cool detachment of a man who is looking through the wrong end of the telescope. The will which is being watched in its agonies is also enjoying the spectacle. Schopenhauer's fourth book, like Spinoza's fifth, is devoted to bringing us back, though in subtler ways than the ordinary, to a real connection with the centre. The last thing for man to do is to renounce absolutely the will of which he is an objectification, and prepare to die. I do not understand this ultimate renunciation. "When me they fly, I am the wings," says Emerson's *Brahma*; and so with this final drama, in which Will is really the sole actor. Schopenhauer himself quotes Malebranche: "*La liberté est un mystère*"; if so, we can hardly explain it. But I am more interested in what has happened to the aesthetic attitude. I think we can find two things which kill it: the self-conscious tendency to analyze it, and the fundamentally anthropomorphic whole into which it is finally absorbed. Schopenhauer is a philosopher of aesthetics at least as much as an aesthetic philosopher, and the attitude we are speaking of gets absorbed by metaphysical and even mystical justifications. Nowhere do we find the large simplicity of Lucretius. For all that, Schopenhauer remains much nearer Lucretius in spirit than Holbach or Spinoza, in spite of their resemblances on the score of objectiveness; for he had an aesthetic soul, however many weighty premises and systematic expositions he clothed it in.

But the most surprising, the most naked and unashamed example of our sort of aesthetic attitude is the little essay called "A Free Man's Worship,"¹ by that otherwise painfully exact and non-committal philosopher, Bertrand Russell. The depths of pessimism to which he descends in eleven pages are very nearly the ultimate. Announcing that

¹ *Philosophical Essays* (London, 1910), pp. 59-70.

"only on the firm foundation of unyielding despair can the soul's habitation henceforth be safely built,"¹ Mr. Russell sweeps overboard all the conventional props of the spirit: God, immortality, the predominance of good, and the cosmic sanction of human ideals. He is even tempted to such lurid phrases as "accidental collocations of atoms" and "the trampling march of unconscious power." The only comfort for us is in ourselves; for by a "strange mystery" (here Russell goes back to the naïve point of view) blind Nature has brought forth a perceiving and partly free child. He can hope for comfort, not from his ancient mother, but from his own art, whereby "in all the multiform facts of the world . . . the insight of creative intelligence can find the reflection of a beauty which its own thoughts first made."² One more quotation: "To take into the inmost shrine of the soul the irresistible forces whose puppets we seem to be — Death and change, the irrevocableness of the past, and the powerlessness of man . . . to feel these things and know them is to conquer them."³ Here is the truth which Schopenhauer expressed in the quotation, above, on the sense of the sublime; and taken together with Russell's grandiose language, it suggests the real state of mind of the pessimist. He is not at all oppressed by these terrors; in fact he is likely rather to heap them up for the delight of conquering them in his own fashion. The blackest tragedy is festive, says Santayana, the most pessimistic philosophy a triumphant exercise of thought. Better say, at least in this case, that it is the aesthetic attitude carried to romantic lengths — lengths which were foreign to the clear genius of Lucretius, for example, and which Mr. Russell himself must be dubious about in his maturer moments.

The last thinker in this list of Lucretius's philosophic kinsmen has the best title to a place in it. Santayana is both an avowed materialist — "apparently the only one living," he says, and an aesthetic philosopher if ever there was one, "almost a poet." He himself likes to say that he has a naturalistic physics, a Platonic system of art and morals, and no metaphysics at all. In two of these three respects he is a Lucretian. In the first place, there can be no doubt of his trenchant naturalism: the half-seen thread running through all he writes is a sense of the "immense disproportion between nature and man, and her reptilian in-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

² *Ibid.*, p. 66.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

difference to her creatures.”¹ The concept is, I hope, familiar enough by this time to need no examples. As a matter of fact — and here is an important point — it would be hard to find them in Santayana, for his natural philosophy has almost no content at all.² It can be reduced to the dogma I just mentioned and a general faith that the scientists will ultimately tell us what the world is like. He betrays his attitude toward science when he says “the chief interest of any scientific notion of its (the world’s) intrinsic nature lies in the fact that, if not literally true, it may liberate us from more misleading conceptions.”³ That is, like Lucretius, he is interested in it for a purpose: a purpose which is in the widest possible sense moral, or, more specifically, aesthetic, in the sense used in this paper. The central problem is not nature, but its relation to man and spirit. The latter, though Santayana says casually that nature “breeds <it> as naturally as the lark sings,”⁴ really remains inexplicable, as we have seen it to be, at the last analysis, in most of our philosophers — an intruder, an epiphenomenon with no full status in the natural realm. Unlike Schopenhauer and Spinoza, Santayana does not try to end with any communion with God or self-renunciation of will. But in his essential notion of the contemplative life he agrees with all of them: it is a renunciation of the natural man, the will, the love of life, which to them all means slavery and wretchedness. Santayana repeats somewhere the great notion that life is suffering, though he does not dwell on it. At any rate, contemplation is a soaring out of human preoccupations. “The surprised enlargement of vision, the sudden escape from our ordinary interests, and the identification of ourselves with something permanent and superhuman . . . all this carries us away from the private tragedies before us, and raises us into a sort of ecstasy.”⁵

This is the aesthetic attitude *par excellence*, for it ignores even the rarefied moral interests of Plato, and is purely disinterested. But the most interesting thing is what Santayana is aesthetic about. He is aware of the “reptilian indifference” of Nature, and is not primarily interested in her. Hence all his glancing personifications of her are con-

¹ *Dialogues in Limbo* (New York, 1925), p. 22.

² This was written before the appearance of *Realm of Matter* (New York, 1930).

³ *Little Essays* (New York, 1920), p. 124.

⁴ *Soliloquies in England* (New York, 1922), p. 211. ⁵ *Little Essays*, p. 281.

scious figures of speech, playful fancies; it would be impossible for him to paint the great figure of Venus whom Lucretius created almost unconsciously. And yet his nature is the sort that he likes and feels at home in. A man who feels himself an artist — perhaps an artist misplaced — as Santayana does, could not choose a philosophy on the ground of convenience or moral bias. When he says, "There is a dignity in existence, in fact, in truth, which to some speculative and rapt natures absorbs and cancels every other dignity,"¹ he is expressing more than a historical or psychological paradox. The real, naked truth about things is of interest only to those who do not expect to use them — and these are the spirits with whom our author is congenial. He has a quizzical love of the bizarre and surprising mother who bore us, a deep respect for her infinite fertility and tremendous habits. The more one reads him, the more one is convinced that his naturalistic leanings are very close to his aesthetic ones. Yet he neglects Lucretius's peculiar delight in the beautiful regularity of nature. He speaks of it as one and mechanical but is more likely to refer to its freakishness and irrationality. He sometimes talks about the necessary tragedies of life, in the spirit of Schopenhauer; but he also says that nature is marvelously fertile in comedy, which betrays his keen intellect, and the weakness of sympathy natural to it. All he asserts definitely is that the world is not essentially congenial to man; he makes no exact development of that idea, either on the line of necessity or on that of caprice.

I think that so far as Santayana takes delight in nature, he likes it for its exemplification of his essences. What he says about the "immediacy, suavity, and humor" which those disembodied ideas and images present to the sceptic, who cannot take them seriously as symbols of anything, reveals a discerning eye and a quick fancy. The spectacle becomes lively in proportion as we take essences in and for themselves, temporarily forgetting the things they represent; while the reality, in which Lucretius was passionately interested, hovers in the background. This is obviously the point of view of an impressionistic painter: it sees nature aesthetically, but not in the grand style. The notion of a system beautiful chiefly for its rigidity and scope, though also for its material and potentially sensuous elements, is out of place here. Furthermore, Santayana's realm of essence is "more garrulous

¹ *Soliloquies in England*, p. 87.

than Nature, herself not laconic"; it is an absolute democracy of all possible ideas and forms of things, all (in their capacity as essences) equally non-existent. Hence, there is no particular reason for the aesthetic eye to linger within the arbitrary limits of the actual; in fact, it is likely to wander through the whole realm. We may very possibly find lovelier ones in our own fancy than nature happens to put before us. This is the function of art and morals, which are Santayana's chief interest, and which Lucretius hardly so much as mentioned. The denial of our nobler intuitions in the natural world in order to reaffirm them in the spiritual is the most striking form of the aesthetic attitude in Santayana. His philosophy keeps the traces of this to the end: his morality is a plea for tolerance and his religion a matter of taste. He must be a peculiar horror to the serious-minded, who want nature moral and morals supernatural; for his moral philosophy is little more than an elegy on the pathetic nobility of man in the midst of an alien world. Santayana is to philosophy what Anatole France was to letters: the smiling connoisseur who has investigated every kind of beauty and does not believe in any of them. His sophistication is a weakness, because it refuses the absoluteness which is a part of real belief in anything; and the absurd result is that his only faith is in what he neither knows nor cares much about, while all that he really loves and is interested in he cannot believe.

This curious bankruptcy is perhaps the most likely end to which aesthetic materialism could come; once the distinction between nature and poetry begins to appear, our aesthetic philosopher will give his allegiance to the latter. Santayana makes a reasonable, perhaps true, but unsatisfactory answer to a question which Lucretius kept in solution and so never had to answer. For the point about him is just what I have been illustrating from various angles all this time: his strength lay in his blending of physics and poetry. He has, properly speaking, no ethical system: the implications are purely negative. Such a man does not need to serve up moral precepts; what he says about pleasure will be nobler than what small-minded men say about virtue. One feels in reading Lucretius that the truth is greater than the good, and even, if one had to choose, greater than the beautiful. To deny both the good and the beautiful, and then slip them in by a side door, as Santayana does, is an equivocation. He fails as an aesthetic materialist because

his aesthetic attitude is not addressed primarily toward his materialism; he has no real allegiance to the heart of his philosophy.

IV

Thus, after a long detour we come back to Lucretius. He is one of his kind, and though we have found surprising and sometimes deep resemblances to his thought and feeling, we have also found lack of detachment, lack of the eye for beauty, dissatisfaction with a merely aesthetic solace for the coldness of the world, and a shifting of the centre of interest after all from nature to man. It will be useful to reassess Lucretius in this light.

The first important thing about his temper is its passivity and detachment. I pointed out how the active, reforming tone of Holbach precluded anything of the sort, but Spinoza, Schopenhauer, and Santayana form a very striking trio, for each one is *the* passive and contemplative philosopher of his age: one can see their distinction by thinking of Leibniz, Hegel, and James. They are the men who have no axes to grind, no positions to keep, no unspoken prepossessions to maintain, and no systems of action to preach. They teach the unpopular doctrine that blessedness depends on what we see and understand, not on what we do: "salvation lies in finding joy in the truth, not in rendering fortune propitious . . . to our animal interests."¹ Action demands positive grounds, and it is no accident that the highest grades of actual achievement rest on faith, and usually on more than faith in oneself. This faith is a sense of power, an immediate feeling which implies a kind of oneness with the things we work on, and becomes in its higher stages a passionate identification. But that is just what our contemplative philosopher does not feel: as I have insisted again and again, he is a godlike, though usually compassionate, spectator of the human scene, and his main interest is not in the success of the actors but in the clarity and force of the whole drama. A corollary of his detachment is his individualism. One of the essential differences between the life of a man and that of a nation is that he can withdraw almost completely into the realm of contemplation, but it cannot. Unworldliness, even without the added poisons of pessimism, unbelief, and the like, is the

¹ Santayana, *Soliloquies in England*, p. 210.

ruin of a nation; Plato realized this truth and built his state on a broad base of unphilosophical people. The *sine qua non* of any group of human beings is something positive to believe in.

The power of our aesthetic philosopher to face the unpleasant follows in the same line. Lucretius is no exception to Plato's view that beauty always lies in the form, the Idea; but he sees the Idea in nature, being one of those rapt and speculative natures, as Santayana says, who find a greater dignity in existence than in pure Idea. The freedom and triumph of man come from the fact that he is conquering Nature by understanding her, not from the fact that he is expressing his soul. But we saw how our later philosophers slipped away from her tutelage, once they perceived that the ideas were man's and not hers; they even tended to exalt his dignity above her own. This throws aesthetic naturalism off its centre, and we arrive at Santayana, who is a poet and a materialist, but in completely separated fields. Yet the road still lies open to reconciliation with whatever terror the world has to offer, by seeing it in its character as an Idea, "something harmless, marvelous, and pure."¹ Thus we can enter upon a free and noble attitude toward our ancient and rather jealous mother, not denying her occasional cruelties, but also seeing her tremendous beauty, which is so nearly out of scale with us, and subsuming both under the blind mystery of her march toward no goal.

¹ Santayana, *Soliloquies in England*, p. 140.

SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D., 1929-30

JOHN BRIDGE. — *De quibusdam libris Suetonianis qui ex fonte Z emanaverunt*

THAT a certain group of manuscripts descended from a common source, which we now designate by the letter Z,¹ could not be neglected in any attempt to establish a sound text of Suetonius was a fact well recognized by Roth, who brought out his edition of Suetonius in 1858. Roth, however, was content to cite only one manuscript of this group, Parisinus 6116, a book abounding in errors and interpolations.

Those who followed Roth in the study of the text, Gustave Becker and Leo Preud'homme,² recognized his deficiency in this matter and sought to throw further light upon the manuscripts of this class. Though their results were incomplete and sometimes inaccurate, they were none the less of service to Maximilian Ihm whose critical edition of the *De Vita Caesarum* appeared in 1907. He inquired more thoroughly into the nature of these manuscripts and saw that they were all descended from a common archetype copied at approximately the same time as the ancestor of the other class of which the outstanding member is the Memmianus. Though he realized that the books of this class suffered from many defects and interpolations, and that the utmost caution must be exercised in accepting the readings that they preserved, he was none the less forced to accept such readings as genuine in a considerable number of cases. He seems, however, to have failed to exercise sufficient caution or judgment in his choice of representatives

¹ The following manuscripts of the Z branch are considered: R: London, British Mus. (Regius) 15 C III; p: Regius 15 C IV; F: Sion College $\frac{L.40.2\psi}{+1}$; E: Si. Col. $\frac{L.40.2\psi}{-1}$; B: Paris, lat. 6116; D: Dunelmensis (bibl. eccles. Durham, C. III 18); Q: Paris, 5802; C: Cantabrigiensis Kk. 5, 24.

² G. Becker: *Quaestiones Criticae de C. Suetonii Tranquilli de Vita Caesarum Libris VIII*, Memel, 1862. L. Preud'homme: *Première Étude sur l'Histoire du Texte de Suétone*, Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletins, Lettres, Bruxelles 1902, pp. 299-328. Troisième Étude, etc. Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique LXIII (1903-04).

of this class. Roth's manuscript, B, for example, he selected as the oldest book of this class, whereas in point of fact the book of Durham is seen from the script to antedate B. He was, moreover, content to pass by the *Dunelmensis*, though this book appears to be the best of the Z family.

Ihm chose two other books of this class, Codex Regius 15 C III of the British Museum, to which he assigned the highest authority, and Codex Parisinus 5802, which in many cases was seen to preserve better readings than B or R. But from our study it appears that R and Q owe very many, if not all, of their good readings to the fact that they have been subject to contamination with the Y family.

Thus the obvious need for more careful and intensive study of the books of this class led Francis Fobes to take up the subject in 1912.¹ If he had enjoyed the same opportunities as have been afforded me, there would be no need for me to take up the task of investigation now. But at the time when he wrote, the complete collations of the manuscripts of the Z branch made with such care by Professor A. A. Howard were not available. Therefore, though he did much to clarify the relationships of the Z manuscripts, there were many things that he could not discover from the material to which he was confined. He did not, for example, suspect that R and Q were conflate. He was not able to have any definite knowledge of the two manuscripts of Sion College, London, which are of great service in proving the stemma of the Z class. Finally, though he was able from his evidence to suspect the high worth of the *Dunelmensis*, he was not able to establish it beyond contention.

To such a point had studies in this field been advanced when I took up the work. All that I have been able to accomplish has been due to the labors of Professor A. A. Howard, who had long been engaged in a study of this subject and had made very careful and complete collations of all the important manuscripts of Suetonius. After his untimely death in 1925, his material, comprising a complete critical apparatus and photographic copies of several manuscripts, passed to the library of Harvard University, where I was able to consult it.

The dissertation begins with a study of manuscript F of Sion College which is shown to be closely related to R and even more closely to R's

¹ *De Aliquot Libris Suetonianis*. This dissertation is in the library of Harvard University. A summary of it was published in these studies, XXIII (1912) p. 167.

cognate ρ . In an investigation of the independent readings of F, the book is seen to be a very fertile source of glosses and conjectural emendations. Though worthless and untrustworthy for the most part, it is of occasional assistance in restoring the readings of the parent manuscript in cases where R is at fault.

From the number of errors of Y found in R and F the conclusion is inevitable that these manuscripts, though descended from the Z branch, have been subject to contamination at the source. From this fact it seemed highly probable that the large number of good readings that these manuscripts possess in common with Y came into their source through the same avenue as the Y errors, with the resulting conclusion that the community of error in BEDQC in these cases was to be traced directly to Z and not to an intermediate manuscript.

The second Sion College manuscript, E, was found to form a separate group with B. This book, in addition to the large number of errors which it has with B, exhibits an even greater number of independent variants, many of which are due to extreme carelessness. The sole value of the book is to determine the reading of the parent of B in cases where the latter is in error.

Some slight evidence of an inconclusive nature was found to indicate that contamination might perhaps have been applied to the source of these two manuscripts.

The Durham manuscript forms a third group in the Z class with Q and C. These three manuscripts seem in eight instances to preserve errors of the common archetype of all the manuscripts along with books of the Y branch. There is, however, no indication that their source has been subject to contamination. Furthermore, in a considerable number of cases these books preserve the correct readings with Y. From these two facts it seemed certain that their archetype, Z³, was descended from Z and not from Z², an inference which was foreshadowed in considering the contamination of RF.

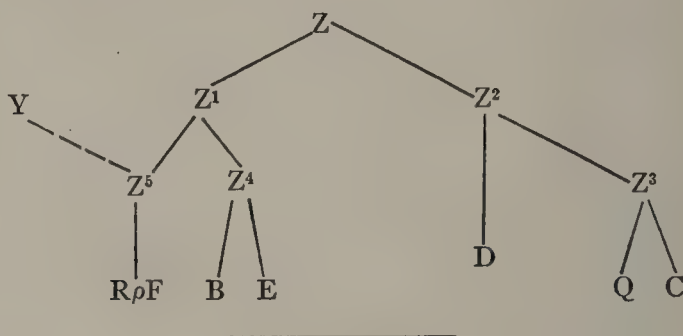
D is sharply differentiated from QC by the large number of joint errors of the latter. There is also abundant evidence to show that QC are descended from a conflate source. From this and from the fact that the independent errors of D show that the book is relatively free from glosses and interpolations the conclusion is reached that the Dunelmensis is the best of the Z manuscripts.

A partial examination of the independent errors of Q and C, coupled with the fact that they are contaminated, shows that the evidence of these books is of little or no value for determining the correct text of the author.

A certain similarity in the variants of F with the excerpts of Heiricus had suggested that the latter might be a source of Z glosses. A thorough examination of the evidence, however, proved that this was not the case. Certain agreements none the less indicated that perhaps some of the variants of H along with glosses of Z might have been drawn from a common source. The matter is highly conjectural, however.

The grouping of the manuscripts of the Z class according to the solution of the problem of the transposition in the life of Galba put forth by Professor E. K. Rand is found, with one or two very slight changes, to agree with the arrangement worked out in this dissertation.

The results of my investigations are indicated in the following stemma.



ALSTON HURD CHASE. — *Quomodo amicitiam tractaverint tragici Graeci quacritur*

THE object of my investigation of the treatment of friendship in the Greek tragedians was twofold — to ascertain the ethical views on the subject which characterized each of the three great dramatic poets and to discover the use which they made of friendship in the development of their plots.

The peculiar views which characterize the Greek attitude toward friendship are already apparent in the Homeric poems, where also the use of friendship as an element in the motivation of plot is fully developed. The Greeks were themselves puzzled by the many forms of relationship which they were accustomed to group under the single name

of friendship, and it is an almost impossible task to attempt any correct classification of this miscellany. It is, however, apparent that, besides the relationships which we are wont to consider under this name, the Greeks held homo-sexual attachments, with all the force of romantic love, to be also a form, and perhaps the highest form, of friendship. Throughout the epic poets, the lyricists, and the tragedians, two streams of thought run side by side. One of these views in a highly practical light all relationships which tend to form bonds of affection between men, the other lends to the close companionship between two men all the romance and all the power of inspiration which we ascribe to love between the opposite sexes.

The use of this romantic emotion in the motivation of the plot is exemplified in the *Iliad*, where it is only through grief for his friend Patroclus that Achilles at last consents to renounce that wrath which neither the entreaties nor the promises of the Greeks could mollify. The same passionate friendship is found in the lyric poets, and, though somewhat more rarely, in the tragedians. Euripides seems to have been more fond of its use than either of his predecessors, although the fragments bear testimony that even Aeschylus treated this theme at times. The attitude toward it in the extant plays is wholly noble, and exhibits merely the belief that it had the power to stir men to the greatest sacrifices in the name of friendship.

The Greek attitude toward the more common types of friendship is consistently one of rather harsh utilitarianism, which persists from Homer and Hesiod through Euripides. There are no traces of that unselfish, self-sacrificing attitude which Plato was later to preach; apparently the Greeks believed that nothing short of the madness of love could inspire such unselfishness. Accordingly, the gnomic remarks on friendship in the tragedians as well as in the earlier poets are based upon strict rules of equal exchange of good offices. With this attitude is connected the more alien one of religious fear. In Greek eyes all friendships based upon the relationship between host and guest, or between suppliant and protector, are under the protection and government of the divine laws of hospitality. Hence it is often difficult to decide whether characters are acting through friendship in the true sense of the word or through religious fear. Such plays as the *Supplices* of Aeschylus or the *Heraclidae*, the *Supplices*, the *Hecuba*, and the *Helena*

of Euripides are examples of the dramatic development of this type of friendship.

If we examine the dramatists in turn to discover what dramatic use each has made of friendship, we shall find that Aeschylus, as perhaps one might expect, has made least of all. The *Supplices*, as I have said, is concerned with the problems presented by suppliant guests, and is more concerned with religion than friendship. All the plays of Aeschylus show that friendly attitude on the part of the chorus toward the protagonist which is a necessity of the Greek drama. In the *Septem* this is carried to an unparalleled extreme when the chorus divides over the question of loyalty to Antigone or to the state. The *Choephori* affords the first example of the active love between servant and master, of which Euripides has made the widest use. The only remaining play of Aeschylus in which friendship has an important part is the *Prometheus*. There, indeed, the friendship of Prometheus toward man, and the ingratitude of Zeus for Prometheus's friendly aid in gaining his kingdom, are the chief factors in the antecedent action, whereas the various faulty friendships of Hephaestus, Oceanus, and even the Oceanides heighten the grandeur of the central figure and test his will in a thoroughly Sophoclean manner.

Sophocles, indeed, employs friendship to aid in the formation of the tragic will, to test that will when established, or, at times, to aid it. Ajax is moved to despair by the ingratitude of his friends, but his determination to slay himself is tested by the entreaties of his friends and comrades. Electra is both tested and helped by the chorus, which, when dissuasion fails, brings her aid, as does also the old servant. The love of Oedipus for his people and his grief at their distress are strong factors in the formation of his will to discover the murderer of Laius. Antigone's misery is heightened and her resolution is tested by the absence of all friendly help, even the customary partisanship of the chorus. The reluctance of Lichas to reveal the identity of Iole is for a moment allowed to block the will of Deianira to learn the truth. In the *Oedipus Coloneus* it is the friendship of Theseus which enables Oedipus to resist Creon and to carry out his plans for his death and burial. The friendship of Neoptolemus tests the will of Philoctetes so severely that he almost yields, and it is at the command of his old friend Heracles that he finally consents to sail to Troy. At the same time, the charac-

ter of Neoptolemus is developed by his friendship and pity for the older man. Sophocles does not leave this use of friendship open for all to see, but hides it rather in the depths of the minds of his characters, where the will is forged and tested. It is, as a rule, only by inference from chance utterances that we learn how strong is the force of friendship in their spiritual life.

Euripides, on the contrary, uses friendship either to arouse the generous passions of romantic attachment, as in the case of Pylades and Orestes, or of Heracles and Theseus, or he employs it as a means of motivation of the external incidents of the plot. There are many more references to friendship in his plays, and he is particularly fond of employing the attachments between servant and master (*Ion*, *Hippolytus*, *Electra*), or between chorus and protagonist (*Ion*, *Helena*, *Iphigenia Taurica*, *Hippolytus*, *Orestes*), to motivate the action. On the whole, however, his attitude is more shallow than that of Sophocles, and is more closely concerned with the ornamentation, the romantic elaboration, or the external development of the plot.

ARTHUR MILTON YOUNG. — *Poetae Graeci comici in comoediis quatenus Sophoclem tragicum poetam respexisse videantur*

THE materials upon which this thesis is based are comprised in the Sophoclean Corpus, the extant plays of Aristophanes, and the comic fragments in the three volumes of Kock, supplemented by the *Supplementum Comicum* of Demiańczuk. A minute examination of this comic Corpus qualified my own, and the traditional point of view, that Sophocles, whose art reveals the finest bloom of the Athenian genius, enjoyed immunity from parody at the hands of the comic poets. For this point of view the omission of Sophocles from the thesis of the *Frogs* by Aristophanes is partly responsible. But the extant comic fragments provide no small bulk of material illustrating the comic use to which phrases and lines of Sophocles were turned.

In the first part of the thesis are gathered the passages from plays and fragments of the Old Comedy which pertain to Sophocles, with a passing notice for the sake of completeness, even where no influence is likely, of the cases in which the plays of Sophocles and of the comic poets are identical in title.

An analysis is then made of the changes in art which the altered conditions of life during the transition from the fifth to the fourth century ushered in, and of the peculiar affinities of Euripidean art to the new milieu, by way of introduction to the second part. For at the risk of error against which Professor Chandler Post has sounded a warning,¹ namely, of getting a story not as Sophocles reshaped it for purposes of dramatic exposition, but merely as reported by a mythographer, a minute examination of the testimonia and other evidence concerning the fragmentary plays of Sophocles is made, with a view to finding out whether Sophocles used the various devices which Euripides handed on to the comic poets. The material derived from this investigation is put into tabular form, and in proportion as the mythographers have indebtedness to Sophocles, he stands in closer relation to the favorite dramatic devices of the fourth century in these plays. Attention is called to certain fragments in which the convention of tragic dignity is dropped, as it seems.

Then, the consideration which was given to the poets of the Old Comedy is extended to those of the Middle and the New. This entire bulk of comic material is put into tabular form, so that it can be seen at a glance by what poets and in what fragments or plays allusion is made to any particular play of Sophocles. This chart immediately reveals that Aristophanes usually referred to a play of Sophocles in one year only, as in the case of the *Athamas*, *Helenae Repetitio*, *Aletes*, *Tereus*, and *Laocoön*; but that four plays, the *Iocles* (or *Oecles*?), *Peleus*, *Tyro*, and *Oenomaus*, brought upon themselves the derision of Aristophanes in a second successive year as well. Little is known of the *Iocles*, even as to the name, but the other three of these plays show decidedly the very tendencies for which Aristophanes had militated against Euripides, only to succumb himself before many years and write his own *Cocalus* after this fashion.

The possibilities which this second chart opened for determining the dates of many plays of Sophocles by checking them against plays of Aristophanes, the dates of which are known, are stated in the form of a third chart.

¹ H. S. C. P. XXXIII (1922), p. 2.

MARJORIE CARPENTER. — *The Origin and Influence of the Christmas Kontakion of Romanos*

IN between the primitive acclamations, which constituted the hymn of the Faijum papyrus, and the sixth-century kontakion of Romanos many influences had been at work. Our knowledge of the exact nature of their results is considerably restricted by the loss of most of the examples of these early hymns; but it is clear that Syrian preacher-poets had developed a form of hymn which combined dramatic narrative with the sermon, and that the first Christian orators were influenced by this combination, although they also developed certain modes of expression which became traditional in Greek homily, and then in Greek hymns.

It is equally obvious that classical rules of prosody had been generally abandoned in favor of the rhythmic cadences which prose had long known. Their appearance in hymns is given a more poetic flavor by the use of many devices such as rhyme, alliteration, and parallel structure, while the unit for the metrical scheme becomes the strophe, in each of whose verses the recurrence of accent is answered in the corresponding verse of every other strophe.

As the liturgy developed, these long, dramatic hymns, and also the poems whose lines are of the same length and metre, if we may judge from the few prayers and vesper hymns which remain as examples of the latter type, were either abandoned altogether or else cut up into shorter units. The centuries which followed Romanos lost the spirit of his dramatic narrative; but we have proved with almost Byzantine redundancy that they repeat his phrases *ad nauseam*.

The evidence is overwhelming for the fact that the first strophe of the prooemion, and the last strophe of the kontakion are the parts which furnish the familiar and popular phrases that more modern writers liked to insert in their songs. Nor is it insignificant that these are the elements which he knew from homily. In fact, the great majority of the parallelisms which we have given in detail could just as well be said to come from homily, were it not that Romanos, as the senior Church poet who set homily motifs to hymn tunes, is a more logical source of inspiration to his followers in hymnography than the preachers are. To support this conclusion we frequently have the proof that he is the musical and metrical model in the indications which pre-

cede a large number of hymns (πρὸς τὸ Ἡ Παρθένος). In addition, evidence gleaned from verses in his honor, such as those of Germanus and Theophanes, shows the esteem in which the fellow poets of the Church held him.

If we take these facts into account, the hosts of echoes in the hymns of Sophronius, Byzas, Andreas of Crete, John the Monk, Cosmas, Germanus, Theophanes, Casia, Joseph the Hymnographer, and Anatolius can justly be said to bear witness to the extent to which the musical and poetic charm of the Nativity phrases in the opening of the kontakion must have appealed to Byzantine taste. The poets were either blind to the possibilities in his dramatic development of the story of the Nativity, or incapable of imitating it to any extent; but they were more than glad to let the mellow perfection of his phrases, describing the setting of the Nativity, flavor their inferior poems.

His stichera, too, were exceedingly useful for poets who wished to compose the small bits of liturgical verse that broke the long office of the day. Of all the hymn writers John of Damascus is least dependent on Romanos, whereas Cosmas and Casia have more individuality than the rest who owe to the sixth-century poet the phrases which, repeated and restated, make up the bulk of their contributions to the poetry of the Church in honor of the birth of Christ.

In addition to these more general conclusions, we might add incidentally that our study seems to show a clear corroboration of the early date for Romanos, and considerable indirect evidence for his authorship of the *Acathistos*.

ELIZABETH C. EVANS. — *Quo modo corpora vultusque hominum auctores Latini descripserint*

IT has been the object of this thesis to consider how far descriptions of physique are used for the purpose of characterization in the Roman historians from the earliest period to the end of the fourth century after Christ. We have included also a treatment of Cicero's orations, of Pliny's letters and panegyric on Trajan, as well as of the panegyrics composed in the later Empire. The *præfatio* has been devoted to a discussion of the rhetorical terms, ἑκφρασις, εἰκονισμός, χαρακτηρισμός, to the statements of the Auctor ad Herennium, of Cicero, and of Quin-

tilian in regard to the importance of proper gestures and of suitable facial expressions in the delivery of a speech. Finally, in this section we have summarized the history of the art of physiognomy and have endeavored to point out the significance of the handbooks on the subject that we now possess, especially that attributed to Aristotle and that of Polemo, the sophist of Laodicea, who lived in the time of Trajan and Hadrian.

In the first chapter we have taken up in detail two common types of descriptions, first, that in which the whole body is briefly outlined by expressions such as *corpus ingens*, *forma eximia*; second, that in which the emotion of the mind registered on the body or countenance is indicated by phrases such as *laeto voltu*, *truci voltu*. The first type occurs repeatedly in all the historians and in general consists of descriptions, laudatory or otherwise, of the permanent appearance of a man. The second type is to be found especially (1) in panegyrics, in which the dignity of the appearance, the tranquillity of the countenance, the nobility of the eyes are lauded, or, as in the case with Cicero, in vituperative attacks on enemies, (2) in expressions in which the momentary appearance of a man is depicted, that is to say, in phrases which suggest the reaction of the mind to some event or speech as it is reflected for a brief space upon the countenance. This device of characterization reaches its highest development in Tacitus, although Livy and Curtius Rufus make use of it to some extent. Ammianus Marcellinus, moreover, would seem to imitate Tacitus in this particular.

In the second chapter we have attempted to go a step farther in the analysis of character from physical appearance, by indicating more precisely than has hitherto been done the relation of the descriptions of physique in Suetonius and his imitators to the precepts found in the physiognomical handbooks. We have, as a basis for this study, pointed out the evidence that we gather from writers earlier than Suetonius, contemporary with him, or even later than his period, that the doctrines of this so-called science were popular in the lifetime of the biographer. We must remember likewise that Polemo, the famous sophist and friend of Hadrian, in this age was writing his treatise on the subject. Finally, we have reason to believe from fragments of an epitome of the lost *Περὶ βλασφημιῶν* that Suetonius was familiar with the handbook on physiognomy attributed to Aristotle. With this evidence as a

point of departure we have charted the details of the Suetonian descriptions side by side with the Aristotelian doctrines on the subject and the corresponding passages from Polemo. We are justified in making use of his work, even if it had not appeared by the time the lives of the Caesars were published, since this man drew so largely on the pseudo-Aristotelian tract. As a means of indicating further the striking nature of the parallelisms of idea and of phrase that we find, we have added suitable passages drawn from Suetonius's own discussion of the vices and virtues of the emperors. The conclusion of this investigation has been that Suetonius, though not tampering in any way with the traditional portrait of an emperor, has nevertheless at times laid emphasis on certain aspects of the physique, which, from the point of view of the physiognomists, indicate clearly either the virtuous or the vicious nature of an emperor's character.

In the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* the evidence for the use of the physiognomical handbook is for the most part lacking, even though there is an outward imitation of the Suetonian method of description. The reason for this lies, unless we are mistaken, in the very nature of the *Historia Augusta*; for recent research has shown us clearly that these lives are frequently a compilation of facts drawn from many sources rather than the consistent work of the several traditional authors. During the latter part of the fourth century after Christ, however, Adamantius of Alexandria was making an epitome of Polemo's work on physiognomy. It is not strange therefore to find once more in the history of Ammianus Marcellinus direct evidence that he was acquainted with the writings of the physiognomists and that the influence of their precepts may be fairly clearly observed in his descriptions of Julian and the Persians, both of whom it was the historian's privilege to study at first hand. Striking is the contrast between the vituperative portrait of Julian by Gregory of Nazianzus, which, as Asmus has already pointed out, is capable of physiognomical interpretation, and the laudatory picture of the Emperor in Ammianus. Our conclusion consequently must be that the handbook on physiognomy enjoyed in reality a far greater popularity with the writers of the Roman Empire than has hitherto been granted to it. Indeed, it has been ignored to such an extent that descriptions found in the Egyptian papyri have been regularly acknowledged as the source from which the writers of biography

and history drew the idea of including in their own works a minute and detailed picture of an emperor's physical appearance. Undoubtedly many influences contributed to the type of *imagines* that we find in Suetonius, the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, and Ammianus Marcellinus, but not least among them were the laws for the interpretation of character from physical appearance which the physiognomists carefully laid down. Wider study of the effect of these doctrines on Greek and Latin authors as a whole, we must reserve, however, for later consideration.

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